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The Shape of Things

HAROLD E. STASSEN, WARILY STALKING THE 1948 Republican nomination for President, made a difficult choice last week when he decided against running for the Senate. Two years of oratory on Capitol Hill would keep his name in the news and provide that build-up without which there is small hope for success at the convention. On the other hand, Stassen was well aware that the road to the Senate lay through a bitter primary in which that venerable anachronism Henrik Shipstead would have had to be pried loose from the Senate seat he has clung to for nearly a quarter of a century. Tradition dies hard in Minnesota as elsewhere, and many a Scandinavian farmer still thinks of the Shipstead of 1922—pioneer of the Farmer-Labor movement, colleague of "Old Bob" La Follette, and champion, in general, of the progressive way. The sad truth is that of the old Shipstead only the passionate isolationism remains. He contributed one of the Senate's two votes against ratification of the United Nations charter—a position too extreme even for Burt Wheeler. A defeat by Shipstead in the senatorial primary would have completely eliminated Stassen as a Presidential candidate, and he was not disposed to take the risk. As a result, he will have to keep himself in the limelight as a public-spirited citizen, absorbed in the momentous questions of the day and devoted to constructive criticism of the Administration. That is a hard row for a Republican candidate to hoe. Wendell Willkie tried it between 1940 and 1944, and added so much to his stature that the party turned in panic to Tom Dewey.

*

IN NEIGHBORING NORTH DAKOTA AN EVEN more rabid isolationist than Shipstead has suffered a reverse that may finish him as a political figure. Attempting a comeback, Gerald P. Nye went before the Republican State Convention as a candidate for Senator Young's short-term seat. Young was nominated to succeed himself, with 195 votes; Dr. George Schatz, runner-up, got 151 votes; and to Gerald Nye, once a power in the state, went all of 34 votes. The man who couldn't wait for the smoke to lift over Pearl Harbor before attacking Roosevelt for "maneuvering" us into the war has said that he would not compete with Senator Langer for the long-term nomination that comes up in June. If he changes his mind, or if he runs as an independent in November, he is likely to make a better showing than his convention vote indicates; but his chances are not bright. Since his defeat in 1944 he has been living in Maryland, a source of resentment back home. His machine has crumbled, and his ear is no longer attuned to the political breeze of the prairie. With handicaps of such magnitude and a record of warm relations with the shadiest operators of America First, Nye is set not so much for a campaign as for a last gasp.

*

LAST WEEK'S STATEMENT ON INDIA BY PRIME Minister Attlee marked a substantial advance in the thinking of the British government. If its fine words are soon given substance by firm deeds, the world may be spared the horror of a bloody nationalist uprising and the Labor Party will lose much of the stigma of continuing Tory policy in that area. Mr. Attlee declared that India itself must decide its future constitution and its relation to the British Commonwealth and must solve the problems of its minorities and of the position of the feudal princes. He spoke out unequivocally against the use of the Moslems and the princes to bar India's road to independence. It is heartening that Mr. Attlee has recognized that this is the only constructive approach possible at a time when the nationalist movement has reached a new breadth and fervor and has for the first time won the support of the Indian armed forces. It would now seem advisable for Britain to transfer substantial power in New Delhi to a provisional coalition government, proportioned according to the recent provincial elections and empowered to convoke a sovereign Constituent Assembly. Left alone, this Constituent Assembly could probably reach a fair settlement on the broad question of a workable Indian constitution and on minority rights, for the Provincial legislatures from

IN NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

Freda Kirchwey

Just back from Buenos Aires gives her

Report on Argentina

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which it would be drawn are already heavily weighted with the representatives of minorities. Furthermore, India's representatives, under the scrutiny of world opinion, would wish to prove themselves worthy of such an opportunity.

*

JOLLY HERMANN GOERING HAS DELIVERED the blandest indictment of the Nazi regime to date, complete with evidence of its ruthless aims and cynical methods. Hitler was nervous about marching into Austria, Goering told the tribunal at Nuremberg, and wanted to wait for Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian quisling, to ask for German troops "to restore order." Whereupon Goering drafted a telegram for Seyss-Inquart to send and then told him not to bother sending it since he had the text already on his desk. Goering also told the court how he used the Spanish civil war as a testing ground for the *Luftwaffe* and how Hitler summoned Emil Hacha, president of the already truncated Czech Republic, and informed him that he had decided to "eliminate" his country altogether. The horrors of the concentration camps Goering defended on the ground that "We decided to keep power under all circumstances." As simple as that. Without batting an eye, he explained that the "Communists" were the next strongest party in the Reich and therefore, as a matter of course, had to be liquidated, just as "unions were regarded as inimical to our new state and had to be dissolved." No pretense here, no attempt to brand such stories as lies circulated by refugees—an effort frequently resorted to by Hitler's American apologists before and after Pearl Harbor. Raymond Daniell, reporting the trial for the New York *Times*, writes that Goering admitted he had given the Czechoslovak Ambassador his word of honor that Germany had no designs on his country. "But of course, Goering pointed out, only an imbecile would read into his words any long-term commitment." His testimony will seem ungracious to countless "imbeciles"—a few of whom still sit in the Congress of the United States.

*

THE POLISH ARMY IN EXILE IS ABOUT TO BE disbanded, according to a report from London. This army numbers some 200,000 men, of whom 107,000 are under the Command of General Anders in Italy, the remainder being in Great Britain, the Middle East and northern Germany. A statement by the present Polish government promising fair treatment to those who return to Poland is being distributed to all ranks in the army. Those who desire to go home will be sent back. Those who refuse will be offered a livelihood elsewhere, but it is stipulated that they must become civilians. Once the Allies recognized the present government of Poland, Britain's maintenance of a Polish army under the command of a general who is anti-Russian and violently opposed to the Warsaw government became intolerable. On the

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other hand, it is understandable that the British should feel a sense of obligation toward a Polish army which fought bravely on the Allied side. Certainly they have no moral right to force its members to return to Poland. The civilian settlement of those who refuse to go home will not be easy—and we doubt whether it is possible to make a civilian out of General Anders except in name—but the proposed arrangement seems to us both sensible and humane, if a little belated; and it should relieve the UNO of at least one small headache.

The World Bank

Savannah, March 18

THE inaugural meeting of the World Bank and Monetary Fund has appeared on the surface a pretty cut-and-dried affair. Questions of procedure and mechanics which it has discussed have made thin gruel for the large newspaper contingent attracted by the over-grandiose set-up of the conference. Such disputes as have occurred were mainly kept behind closed doors, so that to the world this assembly of financial experts has presented, through its spokesman, Secretary of the Treasury Fred Vinson, a face of almost unwrinkled unanimity. Privately, however, some delegates have complained about American steam-roller tactics, and it is clear that when there has been opposition to American views it has been thrust aside.

One instance was the question of the location of the Bank and Fund. Britain, Canada, France, and India, among others, favored New York because there the new institutions would be removed from political influences, in contact with the activities of the world's financial and commercial center, and in proximity to the UNO. The United States, however, insisted on Washington, arguing the desirability of keeping the Bank and Fund as free as possible from private financial interests and pointing out that international economic policy-making had shifted from New York to Washington. And Washington it is to be.

Another Anglo-American dispute concerned the payment and functions of the executive directors. The United States, which envisages the board as a kind of world economic general staff, wanted full-time members at salaries high enough to attract first-class men, while Britain held out for part-time appointments at modest salaries. Again the American view prevailed. In both cases the American delegates had good arguments, but undoubtedly the strongest one was the power of the purse. No countries care to offend the nation to which they are looking for credit infusions to restore their economic health.

Thus the fears of the Bretton Woods critics that Uncle Sam, while paying the piper, would be voted down on the tunes have so far proved baseless. K. H.

Agenda for Security

ALTHOUGH the international storm continues, the barometer has risen and the wind has abated somewhat. There has been altogether too much wind of late. It has done no skipper any good and has left in its wake a lot of battered gear that now needs considerable mending.

There are hopeful signs of improved conditions. The Security Council meeting, as we go to press, is scheduled for next week. Mr. Bevin has renewed his offer to extend the treaty with Russia and thereby has reminded tories the world over that ex-prime ministers don't speak for current British governments. Mr. Attlee's statement on India—a body blow perhaps to Mr. Churchill's empire—is one of the first indications that the Labor Party means the kind of business it talked—before its election. But of all the good signs, Mr. Byrnes's St. Patrick's Day address on American policy was most significant. Four sentences are worth quoting in full:

> I cannot emphasize too strongly that the United States looks to the United Nations as the path to enduring peace.
>
> We do not propose to seek security in an alliance with the Soviet Union against Great Britain or in an alliance with Great Britain against the Soviet Union.
>
> We propose to stand with the United Nations in our efforts to secure equal justice for all nations and special privileges for no nation.
>
> We must maintain our strength, therefore, for the primary purpose of preserving and using our influence in support of the United Nations. We will not use our strength for aggressive purposes. Neither will we use it to support tyranny or special privileges.

Such linking together of responsibility and power is a healthy note to introduce into American foreign policy today. We do not agree with Mr. Byrnes that our commitment under the charter of the United Nations contains within it the logic of compulsory military training. We believe that in the age of atomic energy such a defense measure is a clumsy anachronism which, purely from a military standpoint, is likely to be highly inefficient. But armed strength should be related to foreign policy. For without clearly defined policy armed strength is as dangerous to international security as the policy of unilateral disagreement which Mr. Byrnes decried.

The place for the clear articulation of the foreign policy stated so eloquently in terms of broad principle is obviously at next week's meeting of the Security Council. We should be warned, however, not to expect too much from the UNO meeting. All the issues will not be disposed of satisfactorily. Some are apt to grow more critical. For, as Mr. Byrnes cautioned, "it takes time to pass from the psychology of war to the psychol-

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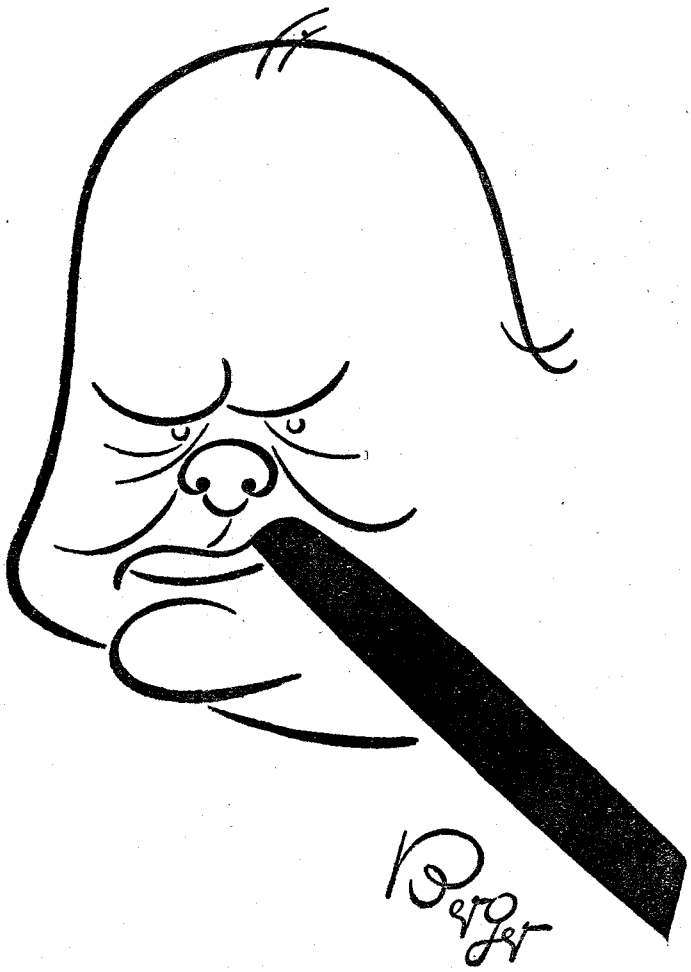

Winston Churchill
As seen by Oscar Berger

ogy of peace. We must have patience as well as firmness."

Iran is a good place to begin spelling out the meaning of "equal justice for all nations and special privileges for no nation." Mr. Byrnes had a sharp word for those who "think that whatever they want should be taken by force instead of making their claims the basis of peaceful negotiations." The Soviets, as if in reply to our notes, made reference to the "monopolistic British oil concessions" which Iran is allegedly defending. Now oil may be considered as a prize in the struggle between competing imperialisms or as the necessary basis of modern existence. Unless we want to align ourselves with British and American capitalist claims in the Near East, we must assure the Russians, as well as other peoples, of free access to the rich resources in the Persian Gulf area. In practical terms, this may call for the working out of a development plan by the Economic and Social Council of the UNO. There can be no unilateral solution.

The other objective of Russian expansion in the Near East is a free passage to the Mediterranean—a reasonable enough ambition for a great land-locked nation. But what Russia must remember is that in an ordered world this objective cannot be gained by a demonstration of or actual application of force. The security of our interests as well as of Turkey's requires that the Straits be made an international zone under the United Nations. This principle should also be applied to the other important strategic waterways of the world.

Manchuria is a more complicated and a more obscure picture. General Marshall's report that the situation remains very critical should be taken seriously. Incidentally, his report showed, too, that there is no short cut to establishing stable conditions in such a vast territory, with communications disrupted and with a long, bitter record of war and civil war. This is not to excuse the Red Army's tardy withdrawal from Manchuria or its dismemberment of Manchurian industry. The latter, it appears, expressed a fear of potential American aggression on the basis of its war-won dominance of the Pacific. Our intentions in Eastern Asia must be made clear. Here too the Economic and Social Council could be of service in advising on a scheme of reconstruction which would be directed primarily to the pressing needs of the Chinese people but which would also recognize the special Russian claims in Manchuria, as well as the necessity of bringing China within reach of Western science, techniques, and trade. The recovery of China must be no mere by-product of American economic imperialism.

The moral principles of the Byrnes address must also be applied in reference to the unfinished business of Franco and Perón. Mr. Stettinius, pursuing the logic of the State Department documentation, should be instructed to back France in invoking sanctions against the last European satellite of the Nazi state. As for Perón, his recent election has annulled not one jot of the evidence against him contained in the State Department's Blue Book and *The Nation's* memorandum. Until he has given proof of the elimination of the fascist menace in Argentina and the restoration of civil rights he should have no place in the councils of the nations.

Two other steps must be taken if outside nations are to regard our declared intentions seriously.

First, we must accept our responsibility in meeting the world's hunger. High-sounding principles of justice and human rights mean little or nothing to starving people. Our belief that men should live as free and peaceful beings must come after and not before our belief that men have a right to live. Our action in the face of the famine that threatens Europe and Asia is, in fact, a declaration of our commitment to the concept of one world.

Second, our recent action in strengthening rather than diminishing military control over atomic energy cannot but be interpreted as a threat by other nations. If our intentions are genuine, then we had better get "that dread agency," to use Mr. Churchill's phrase, into the hands of a functioning Security Council organization as soon as possible. For as long as we guard the secret and, worse, keep making bombs, who but trusting Americans will believe Secretary Byrnes when he says he "looks to the United Nations as the path to enduring peace"?

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First Round to Labor

WITH the settlement of the General Motors and General Electric strikes, the country has emerged from the first phase of the struggle to find a satisfactory post-war equilibrium of wages and prices. The pattern of settlement which was first worked out by the oil fact-finding board and later applied to the steel strike has now gained general acceptance. A few minor strikes remain unsettled, the most important being the one at Westinghouse. Other strikes will doubtless occur. But it seems fair to assume that all of them, with the possible exception of John L. Lewis's threatened coal strike, can be settled within the limits of the President's wage-price formula. And Lewis has not yet made demands that go beyond the zone of compromise indicated by the settlement in oil, steel, motors, and other industries.

In many respects the General Motors strike was the most crucial of the post-war tests of strength between management and labor. It was the first big strike as well as the most bitter and the most protracted. Both management and labor chose to make it a test of principle. For management it was a fight to preserve the free-enterprise system, to resist government interference, and, above all, to repudiate the idea that either labor or the public had the right to study the company's books or otherwise concern themselves with its level of profits. The U. A. W., under Walter Reuther's able leadership, fought for higher wages with no increase in prices and for union security, not as immediate ends but in order to formulate a national policy which would prevent a recurrence of the chronic underemployment and depression of the 1930's.

On these principles, as on wages, both sides ultimately compromised. Although Robert R. Wason, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, asserted that General Motors "has saved American enterprise and the American way of life," it is doubtful whether many General Motors stockholders feel that anything has been gained by the long shutdown, since the terms of the settlement approximated those of the President's fact-finding board. Nor did the union achieve a clear-cut victory. Although the wage boost was not linked directly to a rise in prices, General Motors will undoubtedly apply for increased prices under the President's wage-price formula, and in view of the recent increases obtained by Chrysler, Ford, and Hudson, one may assume that its application will be granted. The union was successful, however, in resisting the company's efforts to undermine the union-security provisions of the contract, and on minor issues, such as vacation pay and seniority, it improved its position substantially.

The triumph of the General Electric employees was somewhat more evident because the company had refused, until the final day, to grant a substantial pay increase, and the management was definitely rebuffed in its effort to obtain a prior promise of increased prices.

On the whole, organized labor has more than held its own in the bitter struggles that marked the reconversion period. While it has not succeeded in maintaining take-home pay at war-time levels, it has won wage boosts which in most instances offset the increased cost of living. And it has repelled a vigorous and apparently well-organized attempt on the part of management to take advantage of the readjustment period to undermine the strength of the unions. By and large, labor's war-time economic gains have been maintained; it remains to be seen whether its political gains have been similarly consolidated. The coming struggle between the Reuther and Thomas factions of the U. A. W. at the Atlantic City convention will throw some light on this question. If, as now seems likely, the Thomas faction wins, the U. A. W. may be expected to play a somewhat restricted political role in the next few years. A Reuther victory, on the other hand, would indicate a much more active political role for the union. Although labor has reason to be satisfied with the results of the strikes, this is clearly no time for it to rest on its laurels. Intensified political activity is essential if labor expects to hold the gains that it has won on the pciket line.

The Army and the Atom

NO PRINCIPLE is more fundamental to freedom than that the military must be subordinate to civilian authority. It is a principle which permits no compromise. The enormous power inherent in modern arms can be held in check only if it is kept under absolute control. In a democratic society armies must be mere instruments, devoid of any will of their own. To let them share in the formulation of the policies they are designed to implement is altogether foreign and perilous to the democratic tradition; it is to accord them a power which cannot fail to grow and cannot fail to be abused. Yet it is precisely such power that the Senate Atomic Energy Committee now proposes to confer upon the United States Army by allowing it a voice in shaping national policy with respect to the most momentous scientific development of modern times.

It is proposed, under an amendment to the McMahon bill sponsored by Senator Vandenberg, to set up a military liaison board with authority to review and to checkmate the decisions of a civilian atomic-energy commission. This military board could on its own initiative submit recommendations to the commission on any question which in its judgment affected national defense; and if the commission rejected its recommendations, it could take its case to the President for settlement. It is astonishing that of the eleven members of the committee only Senator McMahon resisted this proposal, for its

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effect is to enthrone the army and to leave the civilian commission with responsibility but no real control.

The army, as General Groves has made abundantly plain, looks upon atomic energy only as a weapon. It will, then, view every decision of the civilian commission as having an effect upon national defense. Consequently it will be able to extend its veto power to every effort toward the development of atomic energy for industrial purposes. It will be able to extend it, and will undoubtedly do so, into the regulations governing the exchange of scientific information. Let the civilian commission attempt to strike off the manacles which General Groves has put upon the nuclear physicists and the military board will scream that this freedom is inimical to national security. Research and experimentation respecting the potentialities of atomic energy in the field of medicine—believed by those best informed to be soon realizable—would be arrested and blighted by the narrow military concept that the atom is nothing but a bomb.

Even from the narrow standpoint of security, this military chaperonage of a civilian commission can produce only frustration. For men of science will not, and indeed cannot, work in the atmosphere of repression, intimidation, and secrecy with which General Groves has surrounded them. Ideas kept secret are sterile; they germinate only when afforded fertilization through contact with others, through free circulation. American scientists must have this freedom if they are to retain the leadership they have achieved in the atomic field.

More serious still, the world will be plunged into an arms contest which must inevitably prove catastrophic. The Federation of Atomic Scientists did no more than illuminate the self-evident when it called the Vandenberg amendment "a clear declaration to the world that the people of the United States will put their faith only in military might."

But let us go back to where we began. More odious and more alien to the American system than a reliance upon military might is an acceptance of military rule. And this is the inescapable implication of what has been proposed. Congress enacted a statute in 1870 providing that "no officer of the army on the active list shall hold any civil office, whether by election or appointment." This was mere formal recognition of what had long before become established tradition. For the armed services to be represented on the Atomic Energy Commission by their civilian chiefs is reasonable enough. For their own uniformed personnel to act for them as constituent elements in the government would mean that militarism reigned. There would be no end to such authority, since every phase of our life impinges upon national security. If the army is permitted to review the decisions of the Atomic Energy Commission, it will in time insist upon reviewing the decisions of the Department of State or the Department of Agriculture. We can embrace such an innovation only at the most fearful peril.

A Note From Paris

Paris, March 15

AFTER the nationalization of the banks France is getting ready for a more ambitious step, the nationalization of the electric and gas industries. The first draft of this measure was defeated in the Commission de l'Equipement of the Constituent Assembly last Thursday night. However, at the end of a long session, the commission adopted a new draft prepared under the personal supervision of Prime Minister Gouin. Concessions had to be made by all the parties, and the result was naturally a compromise. But even in its present form the measure is of tremendous significance and cannot fail to have important repercussions on the rest of Europe, which is following with passionate interest France's daring program in the direction of planned economy. By combining nationalization of the big networks with private control of certain companies, France expects to reach the maximum of its electrical potential. The country cannot rely entirely on coal, particularly since coal imports from Germany are tied up in the complicated international issue of the Ruhr. What coal cannot provide, electricity must. Every industry, especially iron and steel, is waiting impatiently for power. The French workers are waiting too. The story of the French miners contains a wonderful lesson for the world. American workers' delegations should visit the French pits; they would come away with a better understanding of this country's extraordinary effort toward recovery. The miners' example was one of the strong arguments for the nationalization of electricity; in the light of it, all the talk about private initiative sounded quite ridiculous. I think their example has also given courage to Léon Blum. I talked with him for a few minutes last night just before he left by plane for Washington. With his unusual critical insight, he realizes perhaps more clearly than anyone the difficulty of his mission. Few men would have undertaken it with his deep conviction that he speaks for a very poor country, but one now awakening to the slogan heard in every public gathering of the left: "Produce and Work."

A. DEL V.

Important Announcement

Nation readers are cordially invited to hear the first report on Perón and Argentina by Freda Kirchwey, who has just returned from a survey of conditions in that country.

Miss Kirchwey will present her report at a special meeting arranged by The Nation Associates on Sunday, March 24, at 2:30 o'clock at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, 49th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City.

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Fumbling with Famine

BY I. F. STONE

Atlantic City, March 18

AT NIGHT on the boardwalk outside the huge brown pile of the fashionable Traymore, where the Council of UNRRA is meeting, there are still reminders of World War II. G. I.'s with one leg or none pass in their wheelchairs, pushed by a buddy or a nurse. These are the finished business of the war. The unfinished business—the task of cleaning up the debris, of making torn earth fruitful again, of saving half a billion people from a famine which may prove more deadly than the conflict itself—depends in part on the efforts of the delegates from forty-three nations gathered in the immense hotel.

This is a serious meeting, with little pageantry or platitude. There was just enough of the former at the opening session in the main dining-room, with the massed flags of the United Nations in the background under the high-arched cream-and-gilt ceiling. The delegates sat at long tables covered with fresh green baize. Beside each delegate was a black-and-white printed card with the name of his country on it. The camera men, kings of such occasions, took over at the very start, and the faces around the table composed themselves into properly statesman-like lines as the flashlight bulbs went off and the movie cameras churned.

The opening messages and speeches by the President, Governor Lehman, the local mayor, and Sol Bloom were decently brief. Representative Bloom, an old trouper, departed from text to picture millions abroad "with outstretched hands . . . praying, praying, praying" to UNRRA for help. The appeal did not seem as corny as it might have to those who had caught a glimpse of the confidential cables coming in from UNRRA men in the field. Governor Lehman, whose sudden resignation as Director General is deeply regretted here, said gravely at his first press conference, "I'm afraid there will be great suffering." He spoke like one who had taken worry to his bed at night and to breakfast in the morning.

The rapidly developing famine abroad is not entirely due to the war, devastating as that was. It is as though some angry providence were visiting affliction on destructive mankind, for there has been a succession of natural catastrophes. Severe droughts in the last two seasons have reduced the wheat crops in several of the world's granaries—Argentina, Australia, South Africa, French North Africa. The supply of man's other great staple, rice, has been cut not only by war in Burma and Indo-China but by recent typhoons in Japan and the failure of the moisture-bearing monsoon in India. In the rice-producing areas of China, as in the Balkans, drought moved in as occupying armies moved out. Even Antarctic wastes did not produce as expected; one of the reasons for the crucial shortage in fats and oils is the poor catch of the British and Norwegian whalers, which headed south again as soon as peace came.

The dimensions of the emergency may be gathered from the report made by the Combined Food Board to the UNRRA Council. Although world wheat and flour exports during the twelve months ending next June 30 will be about 60 per cent above the pre-war average, they will be about 60 per cent below the minimum requirements of a war-ravaged and drought-stricken world. These requirements are understated at 20,000,000 tons; the estimated available supply of wheat and wheat substitutes is only 12,000,000 tons. MacArthur's request for 1,500,000 tons of wheat for Japan, on top of catastrophic crop conditions in India, has made the problem "insoluble in full." The phrase is the Combined Board's. It means starvation for millions.

The responsibility for most of the deaths will be upon the American doorstep. The fatal and shameful error was President Truman's lifting of meat rationing last September, a move which shocked our European Allies. At the food conference held at Hot Springs after we entered the war it was agreed that it would be necessary to continue rationing in this country for eighteen months to two years after V-Day if devastated areas abroad were to be fed. Judge Samuel I. Rosenman's report to Mr. Truman last April 26 was more than a reminder of this obligation. His comprehensive 236-page survey showed the inescapable necessity for continued rationing if Europe was to be fed and put back on its feet again. This was the main point of a State Department broadcast last August 11 in which Joseph C. Grew, Archibald MacLeish, and Willard Thorp participated.

Past warning, advice, and policy were brushed aside by the White House. The lifting of meat rationing at a time when much pent-up purchasing power was available provided a boom market for the packers and made it more profitable for farmers to feed grain to livestock than to sell it for bread. There were bumper crops, and the Department of Agriculture was far more interested in absorbing surpluses through expanded meat production than in providing against hunger abroad. When Governor Lehman, presenting his final report to the UNRRA Council today, said, "The premature removal

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of food controls in certain countries was, in my judgment, quite unjustified and has contributed greatly to the present tragic position," he meant only one country, the United States. Canada and Britain have intensified their rationing since the war ended. Canada's magnificent contribution to the fight against post-war hunger puts our own country to shame, and Britain, despite its own incredibly meager rations, has shipped over 700,000 tons of cereals and cereal products to Europe in the past eighteen months.

Recent Administration statements on food are building up into an anthology of sour humor. At the White House food conference on March 1 Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson said we would have to "strain ourselves a little more" to prevent starvation abroad. The strain is hardly perceptible. Food consumption is about one-third above last year, and meat consumption during the last quarter of 1945 was one-fourth above the prewar level. With the removal in November of ration controls on fats and oils American consumption hit a per capita rate of 45 pounds a year as compared with 3.3 pounds in Poland and 4.8 in Italy.

"I am taking every practicable measure," President Truman said in his message to the UNRRA Council, "to assure that the United States does not fall behind the other supplying nations of the world." The joker is in the word "practicable"; there are few at this meeting who think the voluntary methods on which the Hoover Famine Committee is relying can come anywhere near doing the job. Again it was the United States and President Truman whom Governor Lehman had in mind when he told the council today he was convinced that "much more can still be done" if the leaders of the United Nations "are sufficiently courageous in their actions" to take "strong and . . . politically unpleasant measures." Washington is the only United Nations capital to which those phrases could apply. Reimposed rationing and measures to liquidate expanding herds of livestock are essential if millions abroad are to have a bare minimum of bread. In what promises to be a turbulent and controversial session there will be general agreement on one point. For all the instinctive kindness of the American people, on the famine front their government has been doing a shabby job.

Can the UNO Keep the Peace?

BY PERCY E. CORBETT

Professor of Government at Yale University; author of "Post-War Worlds"

THE first meeting of the United Nations Organization, held in London in January and February, plowed its dogged way through a large amount of indispensable work. The meeting was designed primarily to set up the considerable machinery necessary for the new league of nations. Some of these primary agenda items, such as fixing on a site for headquarters and appointing the Secretary General, were sufficiently contentious to make headline news. But for the most part they had to yield in publicity to the substantive problems of world politics, which were supposed to form only a subsidiary item in the program of this first and principally constituent session.

That public attention should focus mainly on the UNO's substantive business rather than on its structure is natural and right. But if the choice of a Norwegian Secretary General and a New York–Connecticut site, together with some inconclusive skirmishing on northern Iran, Greece, Syria, Lebanon, and the Dutch East Indies, were all that stuck in the popular memory of a month's deliberation, there would be ample excuse for an initial impression of futility. As a counter-agent, some emphasis on the structural achievement is warranted.

From now on the General Assembly will figure chiefly as an agency for regulating the internal economy of the United Nations Organization and a forum for the discussion, not the decision, of international questions. But in London it was the essential constituent organ. It even had to create the Security Council, which henceforward will overshadow it in the actual disposition of international business. The practical reason for this temporary precedence is plain. The General Assembly was, as it were, ready-made. No election was necessary. It consists of representatives of all the United Nations.

For itself the General Assembly adopted and tested a code of procedure and a pattern of committee assignment made ready last fall by a Preparatory Committee adequate to its wide field of consultative and electoral activity. It elected the non-permanent members of the Security Council and set that body on its way. It picked eighteen states to constitute the Economic and Social Council, which promptly began its work. Ballots in the Security Council and General Assembly provided the International Court of Justice with its bench of fifteen judges, and the court was given the prospect of immediate business by Britain's offer to submit for decision its dispute with Guatemala over the territory of Belize. Steps were taken to set up the Commission for the Promotion of Human Rights, promised in Article 68 of the San Francisco Charter. Other organs for social tasks were

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established, among which should be mentioned a committee on refugees and displaced persons and a commission to continue the League of Nations' control of narcotic drugs. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, provision was made for a commission on atomic energy.

This record is enough to dispel any notion that the London session was an idle performance. The San Francisco Charter has at least received its essential mechanical implementation. The important question remains whether the meeting provided any indications as to how the machinery may work and what beneficial results may be expected from its operation.

There were in the first place some significant negative indications. It should be abundantly plain now, if it was not so before, that the most destructive war in history has not produced any revolutionary change in the nature or tone of world politics. The record shows few demonstrations of brotherly love and plenty of bickering. The election of non-permanent members of the Security Council, the appointment of a Secretary General, and the choice of a site were field days for balance-of-power tactics and the sharpest type of diplomatic horse-trading. Great and small powers alike showed their traditional concern for sovereignty and prestige. Far from marking any closer approach to world federation, the session emphasized the difficulties to be anticipated in operating even a league type of international association.

This revelation of the sameness of things has evoked a variety of responses. One is a fresh blast of scorn for the unreality of international organization and a call to isolationist nationalism. Another is righteous indignation —at once the easiest and the most respectable escape from the hardship of thinking things through—over the stupidity of our own and the knavery of foreign governments. This leads sometimes to the isolationist camp and sometimes to its direct opposite, namely, the appeal to the peoples behind governments for an immediate fusion in one world union. Finally, there is a response which may be hoped to be that of the majority of the persons who are actively concerned. This is a fairly cheerful acceptance of human limitations, coupled with determination to get on with the business of strengthening the restraints on the arbitrary conduct of states.

Isolationism is blind retreat into a vanished past. The world-federation response is ideally good but ignores some stubborn facts that were thrown into sharp relief once more by the London meeting. It looks as if the attitude with the most potentialities of progress were the unspectacular and uninspiring refusal either to abandon effort or to demand the impossible.

Once we stop talking, even to ourselves, in the temptingly sonorous terms of "new eras," we may find some comfort in the very plain language used by Mr. Bevin and Mr. Vishinsky in their frequent jousts in the Security Council. It had at least the merit of not concealing in euphemistic vapor the broad divergences of outlook and interest that separate the Soviet Union from Britain and the United States. Security will probably not suffer if diplomacy dispenses with the ruse of glossing over disagreement with tributes to "essential harmony of interests" and "the universal spirit of cooperation."

As for the proceedings in which these clashes occurred, it is too early yet to say whether they advanced the prospect of an equitable settlement of the Russian-Iranian dispute concerning the Azerbaijan province and its autonomy movement, improved the chances of democratic government in Greece, or contributed anything to the achievement of self-government in Indonesia. There is some evidence that they accelerated the withdrawal of at least the British troops from the Levant states. Apart from the question of any immediate results, however, the solicitude of the Soviet government for the liberty of weak or dependent peoples would have given firmer ground for satisfaction if the situation as a whole had not suggested (a) that this solicitude extended chiefly to peoples outside the Russian "joint defense zone," and (b) that its manifestation on this occasion was a diversionary move to distract attention from current complaints against Moscow. Certainly Americans will welcome any consistent support of those anti-imperialist principles which their delegates have championed throughout the discussion of trusteeship.

The Soviet use of the veto during the session has aroused some justified anxiety about the future effectiveness of the Security Council. The veto was reluctantly accepted by the small nations, and by advocates of international organization the world over, as a recognition in law of the practical consideration that no coercive action could in fact be taken against one of the super-powers without the gravest risk of a world war. As they have officially declared in their report, the Canadian delegates at San Francisco "were influenced in their decisions in this matter by the statements of the great powers that their special voting position would be used with a sense of responsibility and consideration for the interests of the smaller states, and that therefore the veto would be used sparingly." Nor were these statements made to influence merely the Canadian delegation.

In London the Soviet delegation had recourse to the veto formally or informally in three cases—first to prevent the selection of the British and American candidate for the office of Secretary General, then to prevent Britain's formal acquittal of the charge of threatening the peace by maintaining troops in Greece, and finally to defeat a resolution expressing the Security Council's "confidence that the foreign troops in Syria and Lebanon will be withdrawn as soon as practicable."

This could hardly be called sparing use. Moreover, the type of occasion was no less disturbing than its frequency. It was scarcely contemplated, for example, that

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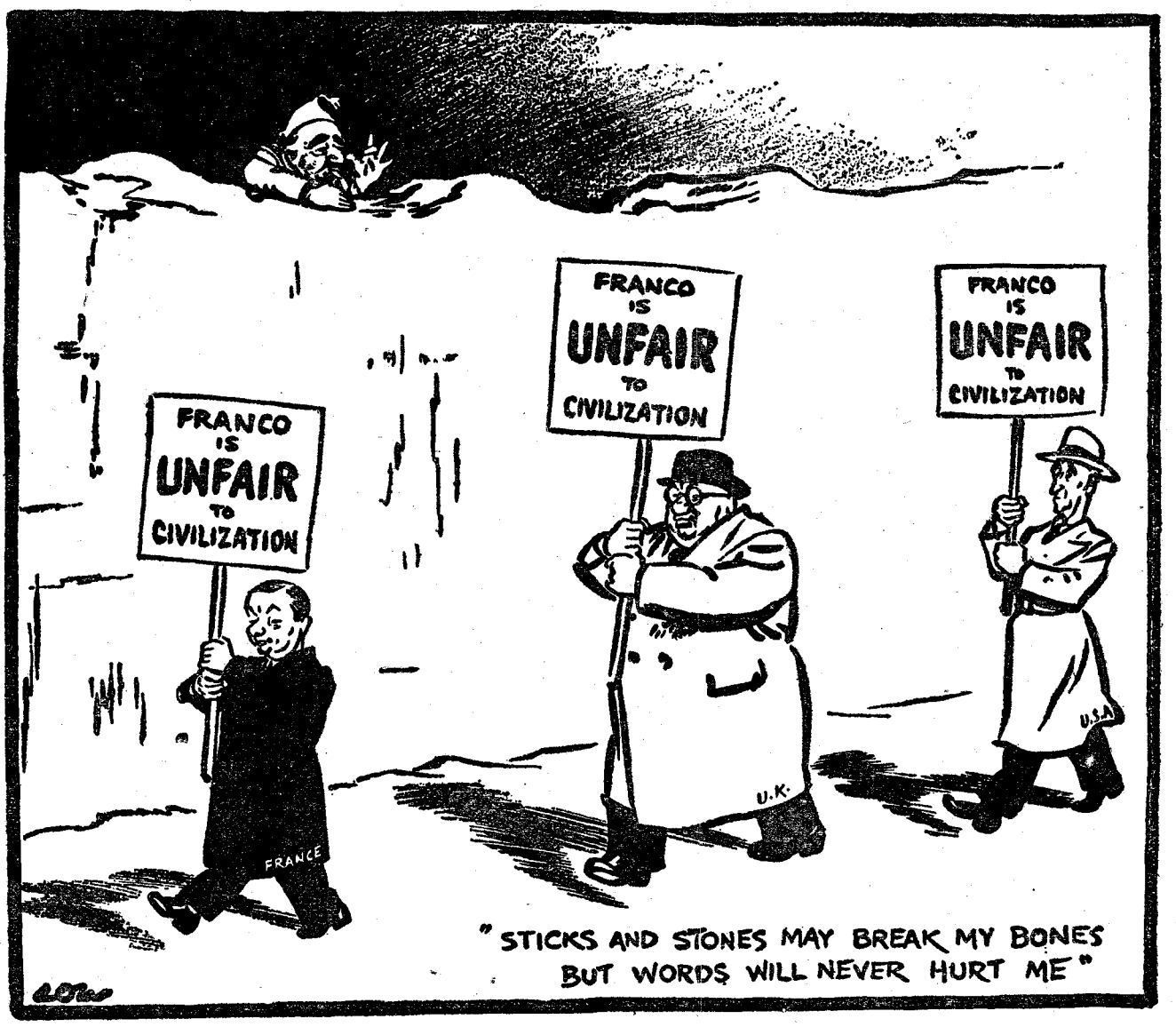
the will of a majority would not be allowed to prevail in matters of appointment, or that the veto might be used—whether or not any question of action was involved—at any point in the Council's examination of a case where a permanent member felt displeased with the turn things had taken. At this rate all substantive business must hang on the mere pleasure of each permanent member. The experience is eloquent on the worth of "understandings" designed to qualify a written text.

On the other hand, it might well have been wiser strategy for Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States to welcome inquiry on the spot into all the charges preferred by the Soviet Union. In the case of Greece and the Levant states immediate evacuation rather than inquiry was asked; but there too it would have been possible to offer compliance with any decision reached by the Security Council after first-hand investigation.

If it be one of the major problems of the moment, first, to convince the U. S. S. R. that the Western world has no designs on its security, and secondly to make it believe that the UNO will be a more effective instrumentality than military might in furthering its over-all interests, then it will pay to permit it to utilize to the full all UNO procedures. This would not be appeasement. It could take the form of laying everything open to impartial examination and firmly asking the same freedom in return. It will probably be bad for Britain and for peace in general if Mr. Bevin, in his devotion to the Churchill policy of saving the empire, finds it necessary to take the high tone of perfect righteousness every time imperial activities are called in question.

Nor, in this effort to demonstrate that all the resources of investigation and adjustment belonging to the UNO are as open to the Soviet Union as to anyone else, should we stick pedantically to the abstract criteria suggested by Mr. Stettinius on February 11. The permanent delegate of the United States holds that no investigation should be ordered unless the Security Council believes that "continuance of the situation" is likely to endanger international peace and that investigation will not introduce new complications but will promote just settlement. The peace will undoubtedly be endangered if the Soviet government becomes convinced that any UNO procedure is being held closed to it.

It is fairly clear from the comment on Mr. Churchill's speech of March 5 that the United States will be in no


FRANCO IS UNFAIR TO CIVILIZATION
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FRANCE
U.K.
U.S.A.
"STICKS AND STONES MAY BREAK MY BONES BUT WORDS WILL NEVER HURT ME"

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hurry to formalize its de facto alliance with Britain. Little would be gained and much might be lost by doing that now. The problem at the present stage is not security against Russia; it is the discovery of solid common ground with Russia. Geography and a certain community of values conspire to throw Britain and the United States into the same camp on the major issues of foreign policy. That, plus a number of joint working arrangements which Mr. Churchill passed over too lightly, is alliance enough for the moment. Already the American and British delegations to international conferences manifest a marked tendency to solidarity. To put this on a contractual basis would reduce, not increase, the chance of making the UNO a successful agency of collective security, for that chance depends on serious Russian participation. The essential thing at the moment is to work the UNO for all it is worth, not to make fresh international arrangements against the event of its failure.

The Security Council is holding its second session in New York this month. We have another chance of appraising its capacity to find peaceful methods of composing conflicts of interest between the great powers. But an even stiffer test is just in the offing. The Atomic Energy Commission, which is the Security Council plus Canada, will begin its work this spring, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the prospect of peace is only as great as the prospect that this commission may in good time devise an acceptable plan of control.

Salazar Is Next

BY J. L. TELLER

Editor of the Independent Jewish Press Service on leave abroad; foreign correspondent for the Jewish Morning Journal

Lisbon, March 9

EVENTS in Spain and Portugal run closely parallel. Leaders of the anti-fascist underground and their confederates in the army and navy tell me that the deadline for Salazar's overthrow has been fixed. It will come within a fortnight after the fall of Franco; it may even precede the change of government in Spain. Those who are planning the coup intend to set up a provisional military regime which will supervise the first free democratic elections held in Portugal in twenty years.

The Anti-Fascist Committee is composed of representatives of the Republican Party, a progressive middle-class party; two Socialist factions, the Socialist Party and the Union of Socialists; the Communist Party; and various prominent individuals without political affiliations. Working with the committee are a number of naval officers—almost congenitally anti-Salazar—and army officers who have turned against Salazar under the impact of recent events in Spain. The anti-fascists now boast of considerable infiltration into the garrisons in the environs of Lisbon, which were formerly among the regime's most loyal supporters. These garrisons are given everything that Portugal can afford in the matter of equipment, while the suspect provincial garrisons are kept under-supplied.

The rebels chafe under the alleged indifference of public opinion in the democratic countries to conditions in Portugal and charge the governments of Britain and the United States with conspiring to maintain the Salazar regime. Some prefer to retain their faith in America and contend that the actions and utterances of Ambassador Baruch should not be confounded with official American policy, but even these patient souls were shocked by Baruch's speech at a reception for Cardinal Spellman, in which our ambassador praised the government of Salazar just as the United States was signing, with Britain and France, a virtual ultimatum to Franco.

It is hard for friends of the United States to comprehend how this country can play Britain's game of supporting Salazar when it is generally acknowledged that Britain's special economic privileges in Portugal derive from Salazar. The only explanation, Portugal's progressives say, is the influence of the Vatican on American policy. Each time Baruch delivers a speech lauding the regime, fence straddlers among high army officers reiterate their view that the overthrow of Salazar might alienate Britain and the United States. When Baruch first arrived in Lisbon, the liberals here pinned great hopes on him. Hundreds of persons flocked to the embassy and left cards on which they had scribbled a single word, "democrat." Baruch's acknowledgment of this touching demonstration came several days later when he delivered his first speech for Salazar. His generous praise of the dictator ever since has embarrassingly exceeded all requirements of protocol. One of Portugal's leading progressives once asked him, "When will you help us achieve free elections?" And he replied—the story was told me by the person who put the question—"Why elections? They only bring sanguinary repercussions."

Britain has good reasons to fear the overthrow of Salazar. Tied to the sterling group, Portugal can carry on very little trade with other countries. Britain, furthermore, holds exclusive purchasing rights to some of Portugal's major products, so that Portuguese exporters can-

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not sell at the higher prices other clients would pay. Take sardines, for example. Britain pays 285 escudos a case and sells them to other countries at nearly double that rate; the Portuguese are helpless since the entire sardine output has been sold in advance to Britain at its own price. Britain's debt to Portugal, incurred in less than two years, now amounts to nearly a hundred million pounds sterling. The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Company is a British concern, as is Lisbon's tram corporation. Portugal's democrats are convinced that Britain would be reluctant to see the overthrow of the regime which gave it these concessions.

A few months ago British secret agents made contact with the anti-Salazar underground, but their overtures were rebuffed. The Anti-Fascist Committee prefers to ascribe obtuseness rather than malice to the British newspaper correspondent who, having obtained the confidence of underground leaders, published a list of provincial garrison commanders who allegedly headed the anti-Salazar movement in the army. It is confident that despite all vacillations the army will follow through once the first step has been taken, but it recognizes that the army's frame of mind depends greatly on the attitude of Britain and the United States.

The underground leaders were greatly encouraged last October when the dictator in a spurious pre-election gesture—there was only one candidate for the Presidency, a man hand-picked by Salazar—granted his people freedom of political assembly. *Republica,* an insignificant daily with a total circulation of 15,000, primarily in the provinces, accepted in good faith the dictator's change of heart and ran a series of editorials critical of the regime. Within a few days its circulation in Lisbon alone rose to 100,000 (Lisbon's total population is 750,000, of whom 60 per cent are illiterate). A committee for democratic unity circulated petitions requesting that the government defer the elections for six months to permit the opposition to present its case to the voters. In less than a week some fifty thousand persons, including army officers and civil servants, had signed the petition. Thereupon the frightened government rescinded the privilege it had granted, and the police began a diligent scrutiny of the petitions. Many signers were held for questioning.

All this revealed the latent strength of the opposition. Business men and industrialists now see Salazar's regime as a peril to Portugal's post-war prosperity. Exporters especially are annoyed by Britain's maintenance of blockade regulations in peace time, its requirement that goods exported from Portugal have a British navicert. While Salazar has the backing of the Catholic church, the strongly Catholic rural population has been turned against him by the mulcting practices of the bureaucrats of the state-controlled agricultural cooperatives. The disaffection of the industrial workers, who have always been regarded as a medium for anti-Salazar ferment, was heightened during the war years, when they obtained no increase in wages though the cost of living rose between 400 and 500 per cent. Those who have set the deadline for Salazar wonder whether our State Department has established an axis with the Portuguese bankers, Espirito Santo and Fonseca Santos e Viana, who are Salazar's main supporters. They say, "We shall meet the deadline regardless."

The Slickest Lobby

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, March 12

THE housing needs of millions of veterans and other Americans are being frustrated by one of the most powerful and versatile lobbies ever to descend on Washington. The combined pressure of big builders, real-estate men, and lumber and materials interests has virtually smothered any large-scale housing—in spite of the desperate emergency.

The brains behind the lobby are Herbert U. Nelson, a charming old man who is executive secretary of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and Cotton Northrup, short-tempered, sarcastic representative of the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association. Some days ago a Congressman pleaded with Northrup not to block veterans' housing. "These men were overseas fighting for you," he said. "They weren't fighting for me," Northrup snapped back.

Reputed to have from $1,000,000 to $5,000,000 to spread around, the lobby is not at all modest about its achievements. Nelson is very proud that it was able to water down the Patman emergency home-building bill and tie the hands of Housing Coordinator Wyatt.

In opposing the Administration's efforts to promote low-cost building the lobby has used five different methods. The first was infiltration into the government. Builders, real-estate men, and supply experts were brought to Washington by every train in the early days of the war to help in the great building program of the army, navy, and other agencies. By whispering in the right ears these men succeeded in keeping price controls

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off real estate and housing, the fourth largest industry in the nation.

The slickest play by the infiltration technique was made last fall when an inter-agency construction committee was created to work with the builders on reconversion. The real-estate interests induced Reconversion Director John W. Snyder, the little Missouri banker who became President Truman's economic adviser, to name Hugh Potter, one of the biggest speculative builders in the United States, as head of this committee. The story of how Potter made it his first task to get rid of WPB Order L-41 was told by Maurice Rosenblatt in *The Nation* of February 9.

L-41 was the control order that gave priorities to low-cost housing—under $8,000—and left more expensive building to scrabble for scarce materials. With L-41 out of the way, the builders could go merrily into the construction of stores, theaters, and expensive houses, which meant bigger money. This should be quite plain to Congressmen, for many stores in Washington are getting fancy new fronts while houses can't be found. Hugh Potter is now back in Texas, where he has launched several big developments, but his influence on Snyder has not entirely worn off. The President's Reconversion Director remained practically neutral on the Patman bill, damning it with faint praise.

The second method of the lobby was to bombard builders, lumber dealers, and real-estate men throughout the nation with inflammatory "news letters." One of the most effective of these is *Headlines,* put out by the N. A. R. E. B. An editorial in a recent issue entitled Property Owners Must Wake Up lumped together *Collier's*, the OPA, and the C. I. O. as the source of "slurring attacks" and "government propaganda" against the real-estate business and declared that organized labor had a billion dollars and a sinister propaganda machine to defeat the interests of the little real-estate man. "Property ownership," it said, ". . . needs to have every property-owner fighting mad." Other articles have asserted that the Wyatt housing program would cause builders to lose money.

A third method has been to flood Washington with telegrams signed by local business men. In a two-week period Representative Patman received 257 telegrams from Houston and Dallas, and other Congressmen nearly as many, all protesting violently against the Patman bill. Patman, an old hand in Congress, sniffed suspiciously at these telegrams, but his suspicions were not confirmed until he had politely answered them. Then George Vaughn and Sons of Dallas wrote him that they had sent no telegram. Patman asked Western Union to find out just who had. Investigation revealed that an unidentified man had come into the Western Union Dallas office with a roll of bills and a list of names and asked that the telegrams be sent.

Other interesting information was supplied by the Post Office Department, which returned a score of Patman's replies stamped "Not in Directory" or "Not Called For." Patman asked Attorney General Clark to have the FBI look into the matter, but the Justice Department said there was no violation of a federal law. According to Clark, it is O. K. to sign a false name to a telegram.

A fourth method was for the big pressure groups to send out advertisements for real-estate and building firms to insert in local papers. Some were full-page ads.

The fifth—and this method is as old as the hills—was to round up constituents to buttonhole Congressmen in the corridors and lunch rooms and glare from the galleries during the voting. It is estimated that the N. A. R. E. B. tried to influence 50 per cent of the Congressmen in this way. The local delegations were rotated so there was always some home-town lobby in Washington during the fight on the Patman bill.

The arguments of the buttonholers were direct and blunt. Housing subsidies were "an attempt to communize America"—the alternative proposed was to raise prices all along the line. The Wyatt-Patman program would put half the builders out of business. And as a clincher, "You vote for the Patman bill, and we'll defeat you this fall. At least, you can be damn sure we won't donate anything to your campaign."

On the surface it is a mystery why builders, real-estate men, and materials suppliers should spend so much time and money to defeat a housing program. There are two explanations. The construction of houses costing less than $10,000 is not very alluring to men excited by the smell of big profits. And a low-cost housing boom would dent and perhaps wreck some very profitable business in lumber and other conventional construction material—since builders would have to find cheaper substitutes. The needed substitutes are already appearing, too. Henry Kaiser testified before the House Banking and Currency Committee that he was using waste lumber and aluminum in his housing developments and that they were working out just as well as lumber. Kaiser said significantly, "The lumber boys had better get the wood out of the forests, or they'll find themselves out of business." Representative Patman has in his office samples of new building materials made of cotton burrs, formed plywood, palmetto, and aluminum. Use of these would cut a lot of the gravy out of the materials and lumber business.

The Administration has been no match for this lobby. President Truman does not have the genius of Franklin Roosevelt for organizing the Administration and its friends in Congress into a single, smashing team. Wyatt and Bowles are carrying the load almost by themselves downtown. Patman has had very little hard-working support on Capitol Hill. The old-line veterans' organizations have been lackadaisical. The American Legion took

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no stand on the Patman bill; the Veterans of Foreign Wars belatedly supported it. Only the American Veterans' Committee and the Amvets are in there pitching. One of the prize exhibits in Patman's office is a cable from the Tokyo chapter of the American Veterans' Committee. Wasting no words, it says, "The national housing shortage is apparent to everyone but Congress."

Such a message is fine for a feature story, but it will take a lot more than slogans to pass the Patman bill and get the Wyatt program started.

Pro Memoria

BY IGNAZIO SILONE

Author of "Bread and Wine," "Fontamara," and "Seed Beneath the Snow"

EVERYTHING concerning the causes and effects of this war has already been said, but since people forget so easily, it is necessary to reiterate several points which might be overlooked in the final analysis.

In search of the reason for the political failure of Italian socialism in the last post-war period—that is, after the First World War—Gramsci and Turati, two leaders of the Italian Socialist Party from 1919 to 1922, reached the same conclusion although they started with contrary points of view. This was that the labor movement was annihilated not by Fascism, as is generally thought, but by its own intrinsic incapability. The German labor movement was destroyed in the same way. Before they turned to Hitler, the German masses followed the Social Democratic and Communist parties. Hitler, therefore, represented not the reason for their failure but the result of the confusion in their ranks.

Let us look at the intrinsic incapability which condemned Italian socialism to political sterility and defeat.

In 1919 and 1920 there was organized unity in the labor class in Italy; unfortunately, individual members were not in agreement about their plans and aims. Neither the political organization nor the trade unions were capable of coordinating the workers' conflicting desires or of achieving the necessary changes in the structure of society and the state. Both the maximalist policy of the Socialist Party and the reformist policy of the trade unions and cooperatives had the bad effect of isolating the working class; they discouraged the farmers and the middle class and pushed them into the arms of the reactionary agrarian bloc and the capitalists. The anti-patriotic and anti-religious attitude of the Socialist Party also contributed to the isolation of the proletariat and facilitated the treason of Fascism, which was able to disguise its purpose as the salvation of family, country, and civilization.

These reasons for defeat were frequently and sadly enumerated by the Socialists and Communists during the long period of Fascist oppression. But now they do not seem to be present in the consciousness of the leaders. We ought to realize that the most serious menace to the development of Italian democracy and socialism is the idea that if we are defeated, it will be the work of "secret reactionary forces." It will be our fault if such a dangerous hypothesis is generally accepted. The danger evidently lies in the timid detachment of the numerous anti-Fascist groups, in their anxious expectation of a panacea which does not exist, in the sacrifice of the effective concord of free minds to the fetish of organizational unity. Unfortunately, the danger also lies in the illusion that the agitation of the masses can clear a path toward a definite goal and that all structural changes can be postponed till better times.

The most alarming aspect of the violence now prevalent in many Italian provinces is not its intensity but the rioters' lack of common aims correlated with a national plan. This situation invites disaster. The parties of the left will fail in their duty completely if they do not succeed in utilizing, in an intelligent and constructive way, the vital forces at their disposal.

All this reminds us, with despairing monotony, of the events of 1919. Is it really necessary to show that not all agitation is by definition revolutionary? The difference between a movement which seeks its goal within itself and a *creative* revolution is as the difference between black and white. As for the present delay in political activity, one should remember that time plays a decisive role in all political crises—revolutionary energies cannot be preserved like plums, to be used later. The moment comes when a political crisis stops maturing and begins to rot. One would have to be ignorant of the ABC's of political history to believe in a gradual and progressive accumulation of strength for the left. A political crisis which drags on indefinitely without evolving into anything new and permanent becomes subject to a complete psychological reversal among the people; those who today support the revolution may tomorrow hail the counter-revolution. It is not necessary to re-examine the course of events in 1919 to be convinced of the truth of this statement; one need merely consider the developments of the last few years in various Mediterranean countries. The best way to fight a danger has always been to recognize it. In this case great intelligence is not required—memory should be sufficient.

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Poverty Follows the Crops

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

OF THE many social problems brought to public attention since the turn of the century, none has so persistently eluded effective action as seasonal farm labor. The sorry plight of the tatterdemalion army that follows the crops has been exposed time and again. The spotlight of many official inquiries has been focused on it—the Industrial Commission hearings of 1900, the Immigration Commission hearings of 1909, the Industrial Relations Commission inquiry of 1914, the La Follette committee hearings of 1939-40, and the Tolan committee hearings of 1940-41. One of the most powerful and widely read novels of our time, "The Grapes of Wrath," brought the story of seasonal farm labor to a wide audience in America, and John Ford's superb adaptation of the novel to the screen reached uncounted millions. Despite this publicity, however, and making generous allowance for the early work of the Farm Security Administration, seasonal farm labor is worse off today than it was in 1910 or 1920.

The latest, and one of the ablest, analyses of the problem is found in "Seasonal Farm Laborers in the United States," by Harry Schwarz (Columbia University Press). Emphasizing the distinction between "hired hands" and "seasonal farm laborers," Mr. Schwarz estimates that approximately 3,100,000 workers did some seasonal labor in 1943. Most of the seasonal farm workers are of course employed on the large-scale commercial farms. In the last week of March, 1940, a low period for seasonal farm work, 58,000 farms whose 1939 production was valued at $10,000 or more each—1 per cent of all farms by number—employed about 25 per cent of all seasonal farm workers. Analyzing comparative earnings for the period 1910 to 1943, Schwarz finds that "whether measured in terms of money return or adjusted to allow for changes in living costs, farm workers' earnings all during this period were appreciably and *increasingly* lower than factory earnings" (my emphasis).

In view of this fact, how did it happen that during most of this period there was a vast surplus of seasonal farm workers? The answer, of course, is that there was no alternative employment for them. They were barred from other kinds of work by lack of skill, racial origin, exclusionist trade-union policies, sex, age, physical condition, or a scarcity of industrial jobs. The migrant life, the short periods of employment, and the ever-present surplus of workers have made it next to impossible to organize seasonal farm labor.

In analyzing the economic set-up of the two industries with which he is specifically concerned—fruits and vegetables, and sugar beets—Mr. Schwarz puts his finger on the three factors that have long made for acute conflict between employers and employees. First, labor has always constituted a key item of cost in the production of fruits and vegetables, and to a lesser degree of sugar beets. In some vegetable crops labor costs apparently run as high as 50 per cent of the total cost of production. Secondly, harvest-labor costs are of peculiar importance. When a crop is ready for harvest, most of the previous costs—for fertilizer, seed, and labor for pruning and cultivation—have already been paid. Since the grower can then do nothing about reducing these items, he tends to regard them as overhead. In fact, he comes to believe that his profits will be measured by the amount he can cut from his harvest-labor bill. This tendency is emphasized by the third factor, which is that harvest wage rates can be more easily influenced than the other items of cost. The average grower can do little about reducing taxes, interest rates, irrigation assessments, rent, freight charges, farm-machinery costs, and similar items. Hence his preoccupation—his obsession—with harvest-labor costs. The "squeeze" that is put on unorganized farm workers represents not merely the pressure of organized growers but the cumulative pressures which monopolistic industries are able to exert on organized growers. Small wonder, then, that the seasonal farm worker has always been the low man on our economic totem pole.

One would have expected that during the acute wartime man-power shortage farm labor would score impressive social gains. But while some wage rates did increase between 1940 and 1945, no general gains were recorded. Pursuing an age-old strategy, the large grower interests successfully maintained the insulation of farm labor from the rest of the labor market. They were able to do this by obtaining deferments for regular "hired hands" and by augmenting the supply of seasonal farm labor from groups and classifications outside the normal labor market. For example, they employed 45,000 prisoners of war (in 1943), 12,600 Japanese American evacuees, 4,400 inmates of penal institutions, 2,500 conscientious objectors, 62,000 soldiers, sailors, and marines, tens of thousands of patriotic townspeople, and thousands of workers imported from Mexico and the Bahamas. By such stratagems the large growers avoided the necessity of having to compete with industry for workers.

Using their vast political power, these same interests forced the Administration to transfer control of the

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farm-labor program from the Farm Security Administration to the Extension Service, that is, to the growers themselves. Thus the excellent policy of holding hearings to determine "fair and reasonable" farm wage rates was quickly reduced to a slick device for maintaining uniform substandard wages. Wages in the sugar-beet industry were fixed at the same rate for 1939, 1940, and 1941 despite the fact that the average price received by growers rose 35 per cent between 1939 and 1941. At these farcical wage hearings labor was seldom represented and the decisions were strictly unilateral.

While agriculture suffered no real man-power shortage during the war, the incentives for increased production coupled with the threat of a shortage accelerated the trend toward mechanization. Actually agricultural employment declined from 1939 to 1944 by 7 per cent, that is, at the rate of 1½ per cent a year, or three times the pre-war rate, although production was greatly expanded. This expansion was achieved, of course, largely through the increased productivity of farm labor.

It should be noted, furthermore, that the technological revolution in agriculture has only just begun. For example, the use of segmented seed, which dispenses with the need for labor in the thinning and blocking processes, first became widespread in the sugar-beet industry in 1943. The new mechanical beet-blocker, introduced in 1942, is reported to reduce labor requirements for blocking from 27.2 man-hours to 2.5 man-hours per acre. The mechanical sugar-beet harvester is just coming into general use. Through these three devices, the jobs of some 93,000 workers are threatened.

In a story carried in the New York *Times* on January 2, 1946, the International Harvester Company announced that it plans to construct a huge plant in Memphis for the mass production of its new cotton-picker. This machine will pick up to 1,000 pounds of cotton an hour, while the average worker picks only 15 or 20 pounds. One great objection to the cotton harvester combine has been that it picks the leaves as well as the boles, and in consequence the cotton becomes discolored. Now experiments in California have shown that if the cotton leaves are sprayed with a cyanamid solution while they are covered with dew, the leaves fall off. The difficulty is thus overcome. Once the cotton harvest is mechanized, the demand for labor in cotton areas will be reduced 15 or 20 per cent. This possibility, incidentally, lends real force to Adam Clayton Powell's recent argument that the Negro should "evacuate" the South. However, the demand for labor in the fruit and vegetable industry of the South and West will almost certainly increase.

Despite the mild experimentation with government controls during the war, the farm-labor market is still a chaos systematically exploited by large-scale growers to the detriment alike of the farm laborer and the small farmer. When I wrote "Factories in the Field" in 1939, I naively predicted that the arrival of the Okies and the Arkies would make it no longer possible for the large-scale growers to manipulate the labor market as they had been doing for fifty years. A large proportion of the thousands of Mexicans they brought in from 1920 to 1929 had had to be repatriated by the cities and counties during the depression, and it hardly seemed credible that the ruse could be worked a second time. However, when the war program drew most of the Okies and Arkies into the defense plants, the Associated Farmers brought about another importation of Mexican labor, this time at the cost of the federal government—a vast improvement over the 1920-29 deal. At the present time a delegation of California growers is in Mexico City lobbying for a renewal of the war-time importation agreement and soliciting 50,000 Mexican *braceros* for exclusive employment in California agriculture in 1946.

Now, as always, seasonal farm labor is excepted from the protection of unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, wages-and-hours legislation, and the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. Inasmuch as the prices of the major farm commodities have been artificially sustained by government action since 1933—with the promise of aid for two years after the war—one might expect the concept of "parity" to be extended to seasonal farm workers. But the prospects for the enactment of the farm-labor legislation which Senator La Follette presented to the Senate on October 19, 1942, are less bright today than they were then. This legislation would extend the protection of the National Labor Relations Act to agricultural labor on large industrial farms, give the same group of workers the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, regulate private employment agencies dealing with agricultural labor, provide a wage-fixing mechanism by the establishment of an Agricultural Wages Board, and in general extend to farm labor on the large-scale commercial farms the protection of our existing social-security legislation. How far must the industrial revolution in agriculture be carried before Congress sees the wisdom of assisting the victims of this revolution rather than of rewarding its beneficiaries?

Remember?

Is there no memory in mind of man
To recollect the way it was before?
By soon forgetting how it all began,
Must we go through the ghastly thing once more?

Already in a time of still-new peace
The siren voices may be heard to say:
"Manchuria, Iran, Malaya, Greece
Are no concern of ours . . . too far away."

RICHARD ARMOUR

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Information, Please!

"LET'S stop inflation," cries the National Association of Manufacturers in a full-page spread which is the latest instalment of its super-colossal advertising campaign. Pointing out that the government is planning to spend four times as much in 1946-47 as it spent in the highest pre-war year, the N. A. M. tells us: "Most thoughtful people believe that government . . . should not spend more than it takes in . . . that it should not keep on going deeper into debt. Yet that is exactly what's happening today. . . . This is the kind of money-handling that causes inflation." As a counter-measure the advertisement suggests that people write their Congressmen urging them "to cut the cost of government, eliminating all waste, all unnecessary services, and postponing all expenditures that can be put off until our war bills have been paid." If these things are done, we are assured, we shall soon see results in a fall in the cost of living.

The outstanding feature of this very expensive example of the copy-writer's art is its extreme vagueness. All it really says is that a balanced budget would be a good thing and could be achieved by reducing government expenditures. Yet it seems to me that people who advocate a program of public economy ought to be prepared to show specifically how it can be accomplished. We are entitled to know just what "waste" the N. A. M. considers ought to be eliminated, what services it believes are "unnecessary," and what expenditures it thinks can be postponed. Only when we have such information shall we have a proposition that can be analyzed and debated.

Of course I understand why the N. A. M., like other champions of public economy, is coy about getting down to brass tacks. Economy in general is a popular concept just because it is so noncommittal; economies in detail are bound to be at the expense of particular groups which the apostles of budget-balancing hesitate to upset. For instance, one very useful economy would be to end the mail subsidy given to newspaper and magazine publishers. But if the N. A. M. proposed this practical step it would offend just the men it relies upon for favorable publicity.

However, as long as we talk about economy *in vacuo*, we shall not get very far. I propose, therefore, to try to make up for the N. A. M.'s reticence by examining the budget for 1946-47 with a view to seeing where cuts might be made.

By far the biggest single item in the budget is national defense, for which $16 billion is provided. Included in this sum are relief appropriations and provision for various other activities connected with winding up the war. Since the services are notoriously wasteful, even though so much of their administrative work has been done by ace business executives in uniform, there might well be room for economy here. But any really important cuts will be dependent on decisions concerning the future size of the army and navy. What are the views of the N. A. M. on this question? It must have some if it is going to talk seriously about budget reduction.

The next largest item is $5 billion for debt interest, which I cannot imagine the N. A. M. would propose to trim in any way. In fact, the banking community, with whom the N. A. M. is reputed to be on fairly intimate terms, is putting on a powerful campaign against the Treasury's cheap-money policy which, if successful, will mean a gradual increase in the cost of carrying the debt. So perhaps we should dismiss any hope of economy in this direction. Nor, I suppose, can we hope for N. A. M. support in reducing or eliminating the $1,585,000,000 set aside for tax refunds. It would never do to deprive industry of its strike reserves!

Now we come to $4,208,000,000 for veterans' benefits and pensions. Obviously there is room for economy here, particularly when we consider the way generous benefits tend to make demobilized men snooty about taking low-paid jobs. What do you say, N. A. M. members, to a cut of at least 25 per cent? Did I hear a murmur about unfortunate political reactions? Well, perhaps you are right; veterans do have a lot of votes. Let's pass on, then, to public works, on which agreement should be easier. Over a billion is provided for the general public-works program, and in his message the President mentioned a total expenditure of $1,740,000,000 for direct public works and grants and loans. Highways and airports are down for something over $300,000,000. Why not leave the first to the states and the second to private enterprise? Or should we first hear the view of manufacturers of automobiles and aircraft?

If I had space, I might go on examining the estimates to show how difficult it would be to get agreement on reducing government expenditure even among a fairly homogeneous group of business men. This does not mean that economies should not be attempted or efforts made to balance the budget. Most liberal economists, although they are supposed to believe in deficits for their own sake, would actually be much happier if we had a balanced budget at this moment. And we might have had one if Congress had not insisted on so large a measure of tax relief last fall. So far as I recall, the N. A. M. raised no protest about that. As for economies in government, I could suggest a lot, most of which would be fought tooth and nail by one or another of the business lobbies.

What is needed just now more than economies is measures to prevent a rise in the cost of government activities. The biggest threat in that direction is a general rise in prices such as is bound to occur if the N. A. M. is successful in its battle to overthrow the OPA. A return to the free market, for which it is clamoring, would under present conditions send prices soaring, raising the cost of a host of government purchases and forcing increases in government salaries beyond those already overdue. For all its ostensible opposition to inflation, the N. A. M. today is its most persistent champion.

KEITH HUTCHISON

[*Mr. Hutchison has gone to Savannah to observe the proceedings of the International Monetary Conference and will report on them next week.*]

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The People's Front

Paris, March 15

THE arrival of Martínez Barrio and Negrín in Paris this week has focused paramount attention on the chances of creating a genuinely representative Spanish Republican government. The French Cabinet, without participating in any way, is following the conversations among the Spanish leaders with deep interest. Winning the battle of democracy in Spain is decisive for France. The fear that lack of action by the United States and Great Britain would strengthen Franco was expressed today by Salomon Grumbach, chairman of the French Foreign Affairs Commission. "If nothing is done to implement the official condemnation of Franco," he declared, "the joint note of the three powers would have the unfortunate effect of bolstering rather than weakening Franco's position." If France is left to stand alone, if after a few months it finds itself obliged to reopen the frontier, Franco will have won another victory, and much Spanish blood—perhaps not only Spanish—will have to flow before he is finally overthrown.

I already anticipate that a representative regime will not be effected overnight, even though the pressure from below is enormous. Every Republican, whether in France or Mexico or Spain, but especially in Spain, is counting the hours until a strong, united government moves into action. A few nights ago I went to Montrouge, a Paris suburb, to visit four hundred Spaniards who have just returned to France from the Nazi slave-labor camps. It is impossible to describe their misery—and equally impossible to describe their courage. Every shade of political opinion was represented there; yet when I finished my speech an Anarchist, who would normally oppose the Socialist view I expounded, came over to me to express his agreement with everything I had said. All I said was "Unity." And last week-end when I traveled down to the French-Spanish border I found the same agreement. From time to time a Spaniard of the resistance still manages to slip through the frontier barriers. I spoke to one who had just arrived; he brought the same word from home, "Unite, and quickly."

But the problem of creating the kind of government the Republic and the Spanish people need cannot be solved merely by adding a few names to the list of Cabinet members. For the average newspaperman as for the average Spaniard not intimately acquainted with developments in Republican politics since last August, the issue is a simple one: Negrín goes in, a Communist is appointed, and everything is settled. Unfortunately, it is not quite as easy as all that. The question is not one of personalities but of policy. That was true last August when Negrín and I declined Giral's amiable invitation to join his Cabinet; it is still more so now that Giral's obstinacy in handling the problem of the reconquest of the Republic like a Spanish political crisis of twenty-five years ago has resulted in utter failure.

Today as in August two very different policies confront each other. On one side stand the men who believe in the Spanish people, who have no fear of the hard struggle that the reestablishment, the firm reestablishment, of the Republic implies. On the other side are the old-style politicians, tired men who during the Spanish war never had a single moment's faith in victory, whose only hope in exile is that a revolution by the United Nations Organization will spare them the necessity of fighting. The central idea underlying the formation of the Giral Cabinet, as opposed to Negrín's logical solution, was that a government without Negrín and the Communists, a mild regime with a distinct anti-Soviet flavor, would fire the imagination of Washington and London and secure immediate Anglo-American recognition. When this failed to materialize, the faint spark of fighting spirit in the Giral government was extinguished. We refused to enter the Giral Cabinet last August because we felt it was too weak to direct the fight against the fascist Spanish regime; the intervening months have confirmed our original judgment. Certainly eight months of indecision are not likely to strengthen any government in exile.

Here let me make it clear that the "we" refers to those who share Negrín's position. We do not disdain action by the UNO. Indeed, we are convinced that under Franco's terror it would be childish to expect the whole effort for his overthrow to come from the Spanish people themselves; a combination of international action and resistance inside Spain is indispensable to rid the world of a center of fascist activities that constitutes a real menace to the peace. The State Department has told the French government that Franco is no threat to international security. That is what Chamberlain said about Hitler on his return from Munich—and he believed it. Daladier said it too—and he knew he was lying.

From the standpoint of international action as well as that of mobilizing the fight against Franco within Spain, we believe the essential requisite is a strong leadership and a strong Republican government. As Negrín said yesterday in his first talk with the Spanish leaders in Paris, we cannot have the government in exile *remendado,* revamped, every month. What is done now must be definitive. That is why, despite the urgent need for prompt action, a solution cannot be expected within a few days. It is no simple question of "enlarging" the government but of changing the whole attitude, of giving back to the Republic the spirit it had during the Spanish war.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Poetry of Hopkins

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. By the *Kenyon* Critics. New Directions. $1.50.

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS wrote that Christ was the best of literary critics. This extraordinary statement may have many meanings, though of course from some points of view it is fabulous or meaningless. Certainly it sets a very high and very obscure standard, since Hopkins probably meant to say that the true evaluation of all things was to be found in God's mind. In this life, where we must manage with less gifted critics, Hopkins's claim for Christ as critic may very well suggest the derivative meaning that the New Testament and the Psalms are touchstones of literary style. And if one judged Hopkins's poetry by this means, the comparison would not be unjust, since Hopkins wrote on religious subjects and since the sonnet, which he often used, resembles the psalm as a lyric form. Such a comparison would make clear how distant Hopkins is for the most part from the economy of expression and the homeliness of metaphor which are the most frequent and most difficult signs of a great style.

To think of the best of literary critics is to be reminded of the best literary criticism and of the best judgments of Hopkins. In the introduction to the "Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins" Charles Williams wrote an excellent essay on Hopkins, and in "After Strange Gods" T. S. Eliot had two pages about Hopkins which are I think unanswerable as an analysis of the limitations of his poetry. It is astonishing that of all the critics in this volume of essays on Hopkins, only F. R. Leavis takes account of Eliot's observations, and Leavis mentions only Eliot's description of Hopkins as a nature poet. This failure to consider Eliot's judgment is all the more astonishing because some of these critics depend so much upon other essays of Eliot, especially the one on the metaphysical poets.

In "After Strange Gods" Eliot, dealing with the effect of religious belief and disbelief on literature, remarked that he might be expected to cite Hopkins as an instance of the beneficial effects of Christian faith. "I wish indeed I could," Eliot said; "Hopkins is a fine poet, to be sure," "the author of some very beautiful devotional verse"; "his innovations certainly were good, but like the mind of their author, they operate only within a narrow range, and are easily imitated, though not adaptable for many purposes; furthermore, they sometimes strike me as lacking inevitability—that is to say, they sometimes come near to being purely *verbal*, in that a whole poem will give us *more* of the same thing, an accumulation, rather than a real development of thought and feeling." And Eliot concludes by saying how inferior as a religious poet Hopkins is to Baudelaire and Villon, how, in an important sense, Hopkins is not a religious poet at all.

Much that the *Kenyon* critics have to say reinforces Eliot's view, and yet in most of these essays there is an extreme overestimation of Hopkins's poetry. Herbert Marshall McLuhan's analysis of The Windhover is interesting and original, but he ends with the strange judgment "that there is no other poem of comparable length in English, or perhaps in any language, which surpasses its richness and intensity and realized artistic organization"! Josephine Miles deals with Hopkins's "sweet and lovely" language, and though her summary is a helpful one, she fails to recognize the implications of her report that Hopkins used words such as sweet, lovely, and dear more often than any other adjectives. She says that Hopkins was a word painter, an exact characterization, and yet she says also that he was a great master of epithet, an estimate which disregards the defectiveness of such epithets as sweet and lovely. Harold Whitehall examines Hopkins's versification, his theory of sprung rhythm and his actual practice. Like everyone else who has written about meter, Whitehall disagrees with virtually everyone else; meter being, like the freedom of the will, a subject about which there is little doubt in practice and every variety of doubt and certainty in theory. Whitehall's analysis, which is as complicated as income-tax deductions, has the virtue of suggesting that the truth about meter may be elusive because it is very simple. I mean to say that the essence of meter may be any repetitive pattern of words. And the hot and endless arguments about meter result from insisting that some one kind of repetition, such as accent or length of syllable, is the *only* source of meter. Arthur Mizener's essay is the best of the lot because he analyzes the text of Hopkins's poetry and yet at the same time places Hopkins in his time, place, and relationship to other poets. But again the conclusion does not follow from the analysis, for after establishing very well the Victorian character of Hopkins's poetry, Mizener declares that he is the best or the most satisfying of all the Victorian poets, a curious view to come to, after speaking of Tennyson, Arnold, Browning, and Hardy. In Robert Lowell's essay there is an excellent statement of some of Hopkins's failings; the fact that Hopkins as a poet did not show much knowledge of human beings, that he showed "little knowledge of their individuality and character." But Lowell lets go the critical implications of this recognition for the sake of stressing Hopkins's "heroic sanctity" and his concern with "perfection," defining perfection in so broad a sense—"there is very little writing on anything else" —that it means practically everything. It is perhaps the width of this definition of perfection which makes Lowell declare that Hopkins "is probably the finest of English poets of nature," a judgment which must include Wordsworth and Keats.

For all these faults of overestimation and one-sided emphasis, the entire collection of essays is valuable because it focuses the magnifying glass of analysis upon the poetry as poetry. Everyone knows how a passage of verse or prose when quoted in isolation is illuminated as never before. The commentary here works in a like way, however often the close analysis of a poem seems to become a substitute for critical insight and for considerations which are more general and equally important.

Hopkins is a very good poet, but his goodness is of a

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special and limited kind. And one cannot fully understand his virtues until one has a clear idea of his faults. For example, in many of his experimental poems he is verbose and self-indulgent virtually as a principle of style. To choose two brief instances, he writes, "Evening strains to be time's vast, womb-of-all, home-of-all, hearse-of-all night," using three images where one adequate image would have served to place less of a strain upon the nature of evening. And in versification there are too many rhymes throughout the poems which are as self-indulgent as "boon he on" and "Communion." In general, he depends too much upon the sound of his language, upon sound for sound's sake, upon the mere addition of details, and upon description as a justification of emotion where a better poet seeks out a dramatic situation. In a handful of poems in which he deals directly with his plight as a Jesuit and as a poet he succeeds by means of main force and violent idiosyncrasy of language, whereas Wordsworth succeeded through directness, simplicity, and lucidity, knowing intuitively that it was best, whenever possible, "to express oneself like the common people, but to think like a wise man." Of course it is often impossible to be faithful to this ideal. It was impossible for Hopkins in the sense that the likeliest alternative was the lucid emptiness of Robert Bridges.

The reason for insisting upon Hopkins's limitations is that he is often admired for the wrong reasons, and this wrong admiration prevents readers of poetry from grasping the qualities of much more important poets, such as Wordsworth and Hardy, both of whom resemble Hopkins in subject matter. The new reader of poetry, eager to be *appreciative*, finds the passionate and complex surface of Hopkins's poems so exciting that he looks in other poets for the same shock and excitement, and, missing them, decides that Wordsworth and Hardy are pedestrian or not really poets at all, just as other readers, intoxicated by Keats, decide that Pope is not a poet. There is no reason for praising one poet to the exclusion of any other good poet; there is always something wrong with praise or admiration which excludes a distinct kind of poetry; and the most important aim of criticism is to induce that state of mind in which it is possible to enjoy one kind of poetry without becoming blind to the nature of any other kind. As for Hopkins, he deserves to be praised as he himself praised certain things. "Glory be to God," he wrote, for

> All things counter, original, spare, strange;
> Whatever is fickle, freckled (who knows how?)
> With swift, slow; sweet, sour; adazzle, dim;
> He *fathers-forth* whose *beauty is past change!*
> Praise him.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

NIGHTWOOD
is back in print again

Djuna Barnes' extraordinary novel, which invades areas of feeling and experience few writers have dared explore, is now available again in The New Classics Series at $1. This edition includes the introduction by T. S. Eliot in which he speaks of *Nightwood*'s "great achievement of style, beauty of phrasing, brilliance of wit and characterization, and a quality of horror and doom very nearly related to that of Elizabethan tragedy."

new directions—500 V NYC

Top Secret

CLOAK AND DAGGER: THE SECRET STORY OF OSS. By Lieutenant Colonel Corey Ford and Major Alastair MacBain. Random House. $2.50.

SUB ROSA: THE OSS AND AMERICAN ESPIONAGE. By Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

THE Office of Strategic Services, during the war America's most secret agency, is now rapidly becoming the most open of books. Stories of OSS activities have been told in inspired articles in *Collier's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life*, and even in some of the pulps. At least one, and perhaps both, of the books now being reviewed is destined for the movies, and if trade reports are to be credited, the radio and comic strips are seeking publication rights. Even on the official level, the issue of our future espionage service is ventilated in public. The President's executive order creating a central intelligence authority is printed in the Federal Register, and the head of the authority, a Missouri admiral, is named at a White House press conference. It is a curious phenomenon of our democratic way and perhaps an unconscious tribute to it that this debate on the continuation of a clandestine intelligence service in peace time should be conducted in so popular and public a forum. While the Klieg lights now play on our war-time intelligence, the secrets of the British counterpart remain unexposed in the dim recesses of the Foreign Office and those of the Russians behind the walls of the Kremlin. Perhaps this explains in part at least the reluctance of our allies to trade intelligence sources with us, a reluctance noted by the authors of "Sub Rosa."

Neither "Cloak and Dagger" nor "Sub Rosa" purports to be a complete history of OSS. Since the authors of "Sub Rosa" were themselves parachutists, their emphasis is naturally on similar operations. "Cloak and Dagger" has a somewhat broader perspective, although it too stresses the work of men who parachuted behind enemy lines to collect intelli-

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gence, commit sabotage, and join forces with the resistance. In both books the major emphasis is laid on intelligence and resistance operations, and as a result the less dramatic work of research and analysis, counter-intelligence, visual presentation, and field photography is not given proper credit.

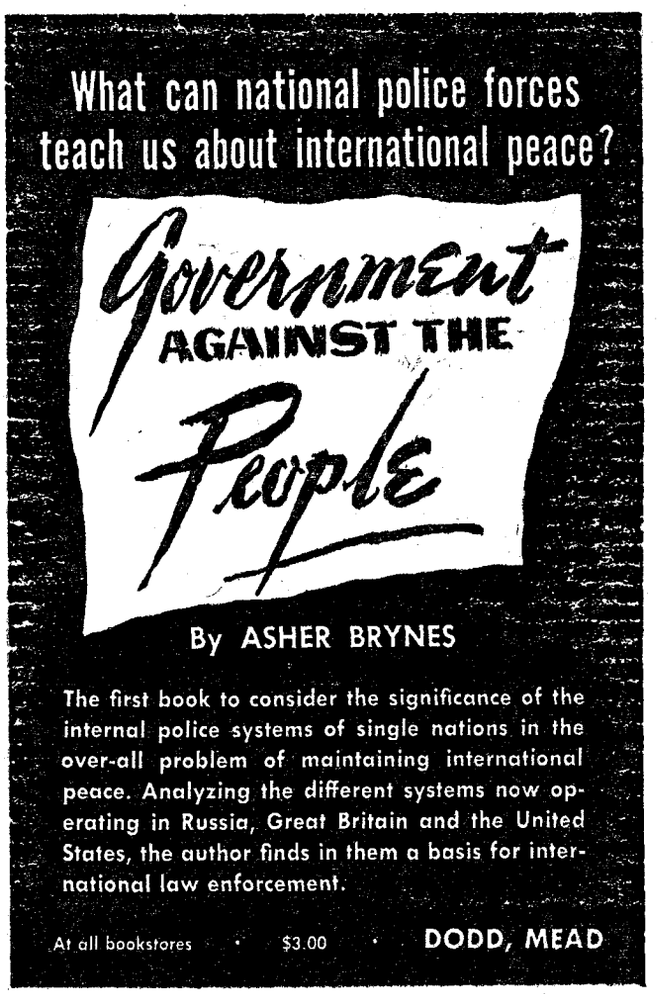
In view of the wealth of material available, it is somewhat unfortunate that the two books should in several instances deal with the same operations; perhaps in the rush for publication the authors relied to a considerable extent upon official releases. These need not have been so exclusively drawn upon. Almost anyone connected with the agency could contribute other and comparable stories. Several come to my mind, and one at least bears telling since it involves a woman, and very little mention is made in either book of the role played by women in the espionage activity of the organization. A woman named H——, who had been an official of the German trade-union movement and had found safe haven in England, volunteered for a mission in Germany. On her way back after the completion of her mission she was challenged by a German guard at the Swiss frontier. Rather than endanger her contacts, she calmly swallowed the poison pill she carried as part of her equipment. She was one of the many anti-fascists whose participation made the word "agent" a term of honor during this war.

Each of these books, however, is rich in dramatic and well-told stories. Where, as in the case of North Africa, the authors of "Sub Rosa" depart from story telling and engage in political analysis, they are not, in my opinion, on solid ground. They attempt to justify our dealings with Darlan and Giraud with the argument that "the underground in Africa . . . consisted of certain leaders within the French army," and that "there was not in the whole of French North Africa a single cell or unit which owed allegiance to Charles de Gaulle." Certainly this is not the view of such informed observers on the spot as the author of "Conspiracy in Algiers," Renée Gosset, whose conclusion is quite the opposite. Moreover, subsequent events have proved that the resistance in North Africa, as in France itself, was behind General de Gaulle, then the symbol of French freedom. Otherwise how would the authors of "Sub Rosa" explain the inability of General Giraud and the French army leaders in French Africa to maintain power notwithstanding their strong American-British support? The inescapable conclusion is that General de Gaulle and the Free French assumed leadership because in North Africa, as in France, the people were with them.

Both books, by choice of subject matter at least, give untoward emphasis to our contribution to the resistance. They also tend—"Sub Rosa" to the lesser degree—to minimize the difficulties encountered and the mistakes made by OSS. Not the least of these mistakes was the selection by General Donovan of men for the higher echelons of the organization who by background and temperament were unsympathetic with General Donovan's own basic conception of the necessity of unstinting cooperation with the resistance movements.

The authors of the two books speak proudly of the fact that OSS furnished 20,000 tons of supplies and material to the underground. This help was valuable, but how insignificant it appears when we consider that 101,750,000 tons of supplies (see General Marshall's Report) were transported during the war to the armed forces. While it is true, and officially recognized, that OSS made a unique contribution, its function was essentially one, not of initiation, but of liaison with and support of resistance activities. The complete story, which is yet to be written, will properly evaluate the tremendous part played in the war by the common men, women, and children who made up the *maquis,* the guerrillas, and the partisans in the occupied countries. They established a second front long before we could mass sufficient military strength for our landings in North Africa, Italy, and Normandy. The full story, too, will appraise our own timidities, doubts, and vacillations in recognizing the value of these allies and in giving them the necessary support and encouragement.

The plain fact of the matter is that through ignorance or fear we never gave the democratic forces of the resistance in Europe the help they deserved. There were those who recognized the value of the role of the resistance. J. Alvarez del Vayo, speaking in *The Nation,* stressed this throughout the war in his Political War Section. It is one of General Donovan's great merits that he too recognized the importance of the resistance in saving American lives and shortening the war. That we gave too little and too late and, in some instances, stopped giving too soon was no fault of his. The complete story of OSS will reveal the lack of an over-all American policy for the conduct of political warfare, the jurisdictional difficulties, and the internal defects which limited the scope and effectiveness of OSS activities in support of our allies in the underground. Within these limitations the OSS played an important part.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Both books conclude with a special plea for a peace-time intelligence agency modeled on OSS. The President's executive order creating an intelligence authority would seem to indicate that we are in the espionage business for keeps, although one may venture to doubt that this authority creates the unified intelligence system we need. This should not be shocking even to easy-going Americans who at first blush find the idea of peace-time clandestine intelligence repugnant. Every nation maintains intelligence services as a guide to foreign policy. The real issue is the nature and character of such a service and the ends to which intelligence is put. If there is any lesson to be learned from the Pearl Harbor disaster, it is the need for a unified intelligence service and the dangers of divided and uncorrelated activity. There seems to be some public consciousness of this. Whether we have also learned the necessity of gathering facts at a grass-roots level rather than in diplomatic drawing-rooms is a more open question.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

The Danger of Deflation

INFLATION AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. By Seymour E. Harris. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $5.

PROFESSOR HARRIS has turned out another instalment in his impressive succession of economic texts. The present volume combines a competent recapitulation of price movements during World War II, a skilful analysis of the longer-run inflationary and deflationary elements in the American economy, and a somewhat less successful account of price tendencies in the current reconversion period.

The author's main conclusion is that the long-run danger facing this country is chronic deflation rather than inflation. However, in the immediate future strong inflationary pressures and pockets resulting from the war will require the federal government to perform the delicate balancing act of minimizing short-run inflation while simultaneously forestalling long-run deflation.

For the enduring problem of deflation Professor Harris indorses most of the answers advanced by his distinguished colleague, Alvin Hansen, to whom the book is dedicated. He probably lays more stress on two associated remedies which enthusiastic proponents of full employment will be inclined to label as defeatist: first, a reduction of the standard work week from forty to thirty-five hours; and, second, a subsidized growth of higher education that will keep substantially more of our youth out of the labor force. Such a joint expansion of leisure, Professor Harris believes, may reduce potential unemployment by ten million. Barring this type of action, the author can "easily envisage a long-run situation with twenty millions of unemployed."

Concerning the immediate task of walking the economic tight rope between inflation and deflation, as outlined by Professor Harris, many readers will raise the embarrassing question whether our government economists and administrators have the foresight and skill to achieve and maintain the precarious equilibrium required. Recent experience is discouragingly adverse. Before and after V-J Day leading economists have badly muffed the facts. Most of them anticipated serious unemployment and sharp deflation as the government stopped spending more than a billion dollars a week on munitions, together with drastically reduced industrial production and consumer buying as incomes fell and unemployment mounted. However, nothing of the sort has happened. The peculiar difficulty of accurate economic prediction in a private-enterprise economy has never been more strikingly revealed.

The only crumbs of comfort to be gleaned from this forecasting fiasco is the promptness with which government experts reversed themselves when events proved them wrong. As a result, it is still feasible to keep present inflationary pressures under control. Nevertheless, it is devoutly to be hoped that when the forthcoming replenishment boom has subsided and chronic deflation is again an urgent problem, our technicians will have developed more efficient instruments of economic and statistical analysis than they now possess.

The chief stylistic fault of this work is that it is too textbookish, too repetitive, too long and discursive. Professor Harris has permitted thoroughness and industry, rather than clarity, to predominate. Although the argument of the book is not complicated, the reader has to struggle through reams of material just to keep abreast of it. If Professor Harris had allowed himself more time, a good deal of his supporting data could have been boiled down. Indeed, a one-volume amalgamation of this book and its companion work, "Price and Related Controls in the United States," would be an eminently more readable and useful book.

LEO BARNES

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Streets of Berlin

ROBERT GILBERT was well known in Germany, but his songs were known even better than their author's name. Now he has published in this country a book of German verses, "Meine Reime Deine Reime" (Peter Thomas Fisher, $2.75), which is unique among the works of German literature in exile. Gilbert's songs, though some of them are great poetry, are not at all "literature"; most of them are written in the dialect of Berlin, and they communicate a sense of closeness to the people, to the man in the street, that makes it difficult to realize that they actually were composed during twelve years of exile. Gilbert's "Stempellied," a song of the unemployed, was sung all over Germany during the early thirties, though he himself was not numbered among the celebrities. Such things happen only in cases of direct popularity of the sort which made it possible, for instance, for the Nazis to pretend that the author of the "Lorelei" was unknown.

These verses are a vivid reminder that Berlin was not the Reich, though the Reich certainly conquered and destroyed Berlin. For they recapture the dialect—a language with its own peculiar humor and full of strange, indirect, involved patterns of speech—and the mentality which formed it—extreme skepticism and keenness of mind together with simple kindness and great fear of sentimentality. If Berlin's streets rise again these songs will be a part of them; if not, they exist in these songs.

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Gilbert writes with a delightful facility and is quite unpretentious. He does not hesitate to print, along with a number of perfect verses, less perfect songs so long as he feels that their subject matter is important. He even dares to touch the borderline of *Kitsch* and to skirt the gutter—being safe against both as only a genuine poet can be. This wonderful carelessness had great precedents in German poetry. Gilbert has inherited the carelessness and, incidentally, the convincing inner goodness of Heine, the happiness and decency of Liliencron, the political passion and the courage of Arno Holz. Whether this tradition will ever revive in Germany we cannot yet know; but at least it has again found a voice in the German language. HANNAH ARENDT

Saving the Top Soil

THE NOISELESS CRISIS which is second in urgency only to the peace-war crisis is treated with complete mastery and simplicity in "Food or Famine: The Challenge of Erosion" by Ward Shepard (Macmillan, $3). The facts set forth show that the agricultural potential of the world is catastrophically dwindling while population grows enormously. The book also shows, on the evidence of concrete, successful experience, that the tide of ruin can be checked and reversed.

In 210 pages—not counting the many pictures—without haste or over-condensation, Mr. Shepard sets down the why and how of soil, water, range, and forest conservation. The book's creative contribution lies in its discussion of the political, economic, and social techniques necessary to overcome the wastage of the bases of life. The author shows why agronomy and engineering are essential for total conservation and why in the long run they are useless unless government and social techniques are equally effective. In the story of the soil-conservation districts is the proof that science can be turned to the uses of the common man in a structure of local democracy. In the last ten years 1,285 of these soil-conservation districts have come into being in the United States; they contain 3,000,000 farmers and comprise a land area of 700,000,000 acres. I do not recall any finer piece of exposition than the author's treatment of the ecology of the top soil, "that thin film, built through eons, which stands between the human race and extinction." It is a film wasted to fatal thinness over much of the used part of the earth; in a few more decades, if present practices continue, in immense regions there will be no film left at all and hence no production of or for life. Mr. Shepard not only brilliantly discusses biology and ecology; around the nature of top soil he constructs a program for conserving prairie and valley, watersheds and whole river and continental systems, and a program of governmental, agricultural, and social reorientation which the salvage and renewal of the top soil require.

Mr. Shepard quietly establishes the claim that in the domain of soil conservation, where the organic basis of human society is at stake, the struggle between "free enterprise" and governmental authority evades the real issue. A democratic local organization integrated into nation-wide enterprise based on the range of watersheds is the soil-conservation district's answer to the problem. Such an organization should be controlled by laymen with the finest

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A Call to President Truman:

Recognize The Spanish Republic!

ON February 26 a Memorandum on Spain was submitted to the President signed by Freda Kirchwey, president, The Nation Associates; Raymond Swing, chairman of the board, Americans United for World Organization; Reinhold Niebuhr, president of the Union for Democratic Action; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the Advisory Council, The Nation Associates; William L. Shirer, chairman of The Friends of the Spanish Republic; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Jo Davidson, chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of The Church Peace Union; Elmer Benson, chairman of the Executive Committee, National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

The program proposed by these leaders of eight national organizations assures the liberation of the Spanish people and security for the world. Support their program by writing or wiring President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes.

The joint statement issued by the United States, Great Britain and France places impossible conditions upon the Spanish people. There is great danger that unless we act now Franco will be replaced by a military regime or a monarchy.

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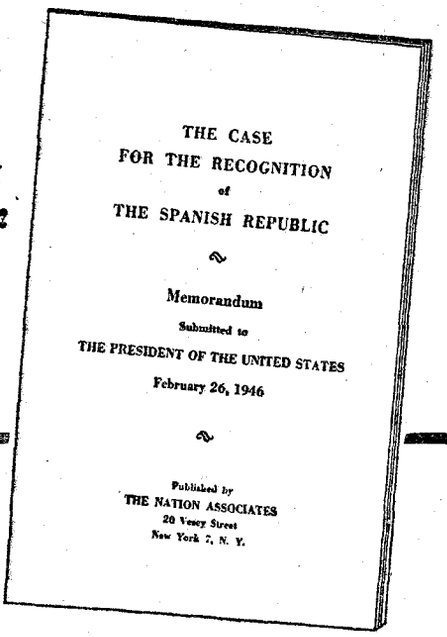

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technical advice at their disposal. The implications of this answer go far beyond agriculture and the conservation of natural resources. Mr. Shepard discusses them with moderation and clarity.

JOHN COLLIER

FICTION IN REVIEW

THERE are certain familiar fictional themes—the Bible story of David on which Gladys Schmitt bases her new novel, "David the King" (Dial, $3), is one of them—of which it is often said that they are so great that they cannot possibly be spoilt. But it seems to me that just the opposite is so, and that the greater and more familiar the theme the more blatantly any inadequacies show themselves and the more we resent them. Perhaps the simplest test of our response to a fresh treatment of an old story is the mood in which we return to the original, whether we return for confirmation of the new experience or for a corrective to it. And by this test Miss Schmitt's book is very successful indeed. We turn back to the Old Testament to recapitulate our pleasure in one of the most magnificent stories ever told.

"David the King" is Miss Schmitt's second novel. Having only skimmed her first, "The Gates of Aulis," I cannot fairly compare the two, but it is my impression that "The Gates of Aulis" was a work of unmistakable talent, marred by overemotionalism; and if this impression is correct, then Miss Schmitt has made large strides in correcting her major fault —in disciplining her feelings, in checking the indulgence of her sensibility, in paring down her too poetical language. And this much advance in discipline from a first to a second novel promises that as she continues writing she will increasingly trust her story and depend less and less upon an embroidery of intensities. On the other hand, in the fact that there is still so much work of simplification for Miss Schmitt to do lies the explanation of why "David the King" finally falls short of the stature it constantly approaches. For while there is no touch of fussiness in Miss Schmitt's fundamental reading of her characters, there is a fussiness of detail in the narration which considerably blurs its large human outlines. Judicious cutting would have been of some help. There are too many places, too many incidents, too many conversations. I suspect, however, that even reduced in size "David the King" would be diminished in moral scale by its manner. Over-conscious of taste, Miss Schmitt labors too hard to achieve a style equal to the moral circumstances; she is always writing *up* to her story—an effort which inevitably pulls the drama down to the level of a literary composition. And this lack of confidence in the power of her story to stand by itself, without decoration, is particularly regrettable because Miss Schmitt's human-dramatic imagination is so fine.

"David the King" starts well back of the period of David's rule over Israel, when he was still a shepherd in Bethlehem, a bewildered boy sanctified—doomed—to a life quite beyond his imaginings. These early sections of the novel, which deal with the court of the house of Kish, with David's love for Jonathan, and with the relationship of the two boys to the mad Saul, are the parts I liked best. Admittedly this portion of the biography is easier to dramatize than the years of

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David's exile and kingship, but it is also the part of the story that could most easily have lent itself to sentimentality and over-interpretation. That Miss Schmitt has been able to evoke so much sweetness both of youth and of age without a hint either of mawkishness or psychological chic is testimony to a wonderful novelistic heart.

For surely it takes quite a novelistic heart, these days, to write a love story. Love stories—except self-love stories—have almost entirely disappeared from modern fiction, just as love poetry is disappearing from modern poetry. I do not know what this means about modern life: perhaps it manifests our fear, perhaps it is an aspect of our present-day spiritual and emotional sterility, perhaps it is an example in the domestic sphere of the general reactionary tendency of contemporary life. Even the novels of Hemingway, which are usually pointed to as love stories, celebrate a singularly unexpansive kind of love; it is always a wall between the lovers and the rest of the world, exclusive instead of inclusive and irradiating. Of course the most important love emotions in "David the King" are homosexual; alongside the ecstasy of David's and Jonathan's feeling for each other or even of Saul's feeling for each of the boys, the relations between the men and women of the story are pretty meager. But while we note an increased homosexual impulse in so much of our contemporary fiction, we do not find grandeur even in the homosexual emotions it portrays. Evidently in order to believe in the expansive possibilities of any kind of love, heterosexual or homosexual, we must set our love stories far back, in a time when life itself was more open and full of good possibility.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

BACH'S B minor Mass is a work I have heard only very few times, the last of them a number of years ago; and so I came to the Bethlehem Bach Choir's recent performance without recollection and expectation of some of the passages in the work that bowled me over this time: the second *Kyrie*, the *Qui tollis*, the *Et incarnatus est*, the *Crucifixus*. The performance too was an experience—though I can believe those who contend that a small part of the Bach Choir in Town Hall would be even better. In Town Hall the beautiful playing of the small group of musicians from the Philadelphia Orchestra probably would not be inaudible, as it was now and then in Carnegie Hall. But even in Town Hall the solos would need better singers than were used in the Carnegie Hall performance.

The power in Schubert's music that I spoke of recently is to be heard in his posthumous A major Piano Sonata—at once in the grand opening proclamation that returns at the very end, but also throughout the work, in passages that alternate with quiet miracles of loveliness and expressiveness and sometimes develop out of them. The most extraordinary of these is the recitative-like middle part of the second movement, which takes off quietly from the end of the first part, and proceeds with changes in rhythm and figuration, pace and force that produce a hair-raising crescendo of momentum and intensity to a maximum which breaks off with the effect of catastrophe. Webster Aitken's marshaling of the long passage to its climax—in his performance of the work at the Frick Collection—was the achievement of a master musician; but the power in the other movements can be achieved only with relaxation, and was not achieved by his hurried, tense, and feverish treatment of them. Perhaps he was driven into this by awareness of the state of intense boredom into which the audience had been battered by the twenty minutes of Aaron Copland's Sonata.

The New Friends of Music can prevent Lotte Lehmann from giving encores and receiving flowers; but she managed to slip into her program a couple of the songs that provide opportunities for the archnesses which she and her audiences like. In the other songs of Schubert and Brahms, however, she made legitimate efforts with singing that is now alone in its combination of sensuous beauty and expressive art. An earlier New Friends concert started badly with the Saidenberg Little Symphony's heavy-footed performance of Corelli's beautiful Christmas Concerto in G minor, and the A major Cello Concerto of K. P. E. Bach, with its dulness increased by the playing of Raya Garbousova. But things began to liven up with Mitchell Miller's playing in the C major Oboe Concerto of Cimarosa; and the concert ended brilliantly with the playing of Alexander Schneider, John Wummer, and Ralph Kirkpatrick in Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 5—which WQXR cut off in the middle of the finale.

At Maggie Teyte's last New York recital there was occasion to marvel at the assured musical style that made of each song something so completely, so finally achieved, and at the assured vocal technique that enabled her to do this with a voice more worn and frayed than at the first recital. But one wondered also at the taste that lavished these gifts on songs of Reynaldo Hahn.

Hearing Joseph Fuchs after many years I enjoyed his unobtrusive mastery of the violin and his sensitive musicianship in performances of sonatas by Handel and Fauré with the excellent ensemble pianist Artur Balsam. At seventeen-year-old Leon Fleisher's first recital, on the other hand, I heard not only an unmatured musician but a pianist who did not yet know how to use his instrument—how, in particular, to produce large sonorities from it that were not harsh and jangling and that did not knock it out of tune by the middle of the concert.

If, finally, listening to Marian Anderson and, earlier, to Feuermann, you have appreciated the piano contexts created for their performances by Franz Rupp, and have realized that you were hearing not only an extraordinary ensemble artist but a musician and pianist of the first rank, you may want to hear him play in a performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 at a concert in Town Hall on the evening of March 24.

Films

JAMES AGEE

RECENTLY I saw a moving picture so much worth talking about that I am still unable to review it. This was the Italian "Open City." For the moment I can say only that I am at once extremely respectful and rather suspicious of it, and that I recommend it very highly, with a warning, however, to those who are particularly sensitive to scenes of torture. I will probably be unable to report on the film in detail for the next three or four weeks. Meanwhile, here are briefs on a few current films.

"Bedlam" is an elaborate improvisation, but not an improvement, on one of Hogarth's engravings. Boris Karloff has charge of the madhouse, prior to its reform. A Quaker and a spirited young woman are also involved. There is enough metaphoric moralistic pedagogy to carry a story a dozen times the weight; more than enough verbiage for the same; enough taste, and movie feeling, as well. There are also some nasty thrills, which are too often obscured by the foregoing. This is a Val Lewton production. I hear I have been accused—it has not been done to my face—of favoring Mr. Lewton, for reasons presumed to be underhand. The actual reason is underhandedness epitomized: I think that few people in Hollywood show in their work that they know or care half as much about movies or human beings as he does. Of such people I will always write with friendliness and respect. I am afraid that this particular film is a careful, pretty failure, and I regret and somewhat fear Lewton's recent interest in costume movies, which seem to draw on his romantic-literary weaknesses more than on his best abilities, which are poetic and cinematic. But Lewton and his friends would have to make much less sincere and pleasing films than this before I would review them disrespectfully.

"The Spiral Staircase" may be better fun to see than "Bedlam," but I feel it has been overrated. It entirely lacks the

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mer
least al excitement which "Bedlam" at
well, I am for. Even though she plays it
Guire—or any impressed by Dorothy Mc-
through several e else—stunting along
mute; nor am I wi reels as a suffering
by Ethel Barrymore's ingly hornswoggled
of her lighthouse eyes, principled use
they are. Still, the movie is V derful as
clever; and until some member of lly
Screen Writers' Guild takes care to the
rect me—neglecting, as I am do or-
such nonentities as the set design camera man, and editor—I will mainly credit Robert Siodmak for that; he merely directed the show.

A director I had never expected to praise is Jean Negalescu, who has always made me think of Michael Curtiz on toast. (Mr. Curtiz, in turn, has always seemed like Franz Murnau under onions.) I may be wrong in praising him now, since "Three Strangers" was smartly written by John Huston and Howard Koch and is still more smartly played by Geraldine Fitzgerald, Peter Lorre, Sidney Greenstreet, Rosalind Ivan, and Joan Loring. But this rather silly story of three blemished people buzzing around a sweepstakes ticket is told with such exactly fancy terseness, even in casual street scenes, that I think nobody should be left out. It is one of few recent movies you don't feel rather ashamed about, next morning.

"Vacation from Marriage" is the story of a lower-middle-class English couple (Robert Donat and Deborah Kerr), peace-time dimouts who are transformed by history. During the early reels they look as abject as gray greasepaint and a nice burlesque of stultified timidity can make them; and, in a comic-strip way, develop a good deal of pathos and quite a fierce little indictment of the kind of world which can evolve such creatures. Later on, in an easy travesty of a generally uneasy problem, they confront each other looking like movie stars. War is supposed to be the catalyst, the sportsman's bracer; and the film's chief weakness is its failure to show the briefly exalted couple sinking back, uncontrollably, under their peace-time stone. That might be an unbearably depressing movie; this one is unbearably inspiriting. Even without qualifiers or full honesty, it is good to see war credited with one of the few things it can possibly be credited with. But the real logic of the picture is that a large part of the human race is hardly fit for existence under any other circumstances. My chief objection is that this logic is not shown to be either inescapable or changeable.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Open the Door!

Dear Sirs: I was interested to read in the exchange of letters between Kingsley Martin and Max Lerner in *The Nation* of March 2 the suggestion that America should open its doors to the homeless Jews of Europe, because this solution of the proble long seemed to me so obvious tha I was as surprised as Mr. Martin at ed torial silence on the subject.

do not qualify as a libe but unlike Mr. Lerner I do feel strongly the guilt of a country which is reluctant to offer a tithe of its fabulous wealth to succor those who are destitute. I would not appeal to British casualty lists, or to who gave most, or to any sense of debt, or to the argument that rehabilitating ruined lands and peoples is in the long run for our own security. It is the frank, brazen selfishness which is influenced only by such arguments that gets me. Liberals may be humanists, but there is still a national conscience.

As a member of the Nation Associates I would like to see more active support of a liberal immigration policy.

F. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

Belmar, N. J., March 2

Culture and the Co-ops

Dear Sirs: The Tocqueville articles by Margaret Marshall (*The Nation,* February 2 and 9) have set me to writing this letter because I believe that Miss Marshall's hope for a cultural awakening in a mechanized society need not rest solely on the fact that a village in Virginia found "Forever Amber" disappointing, if irresistible. There is a more positive reason for believing that the spread of democracy will bring into play "a truly limitless reservoir of human talent and vitality." People in widening circles are finding an answer to the exploiters of man's cultural needs and are recognizing them, not as "a breed of men quite as ruthless and greedy as the exploiters of his physical needs," but as one and the same breed.

If the cooperative movement offered nothing beyond a challenge to the economy of scarcity, it could with fairness be regarded as merely an instrument for creating a more virtuous materialism, to use Tocqueville's phrase. It is, however, only natural that the lofty yet canny principles upon which it operates food stores, oil refineries, bakeries, and fertilizer factories should set in motion a cultural revolution. If co-ops have demonstrated that there is no need to feel helpless in encounters with oil and rubber monopolies, it is not likely that the people who constitute them will supinely accept the inanities of radio and screen as a substitute for a life-giving culture. Arrested development, whether in taste in the arts or of common sense in supplying our more material consumer needs, is essential to successful exploitation. A sizable portion of America is refusing to allow itself to be thus stunted in growth.

I would suggest to Miss Marshall that she explore the cooperative move-

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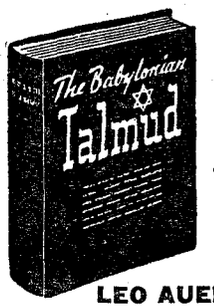

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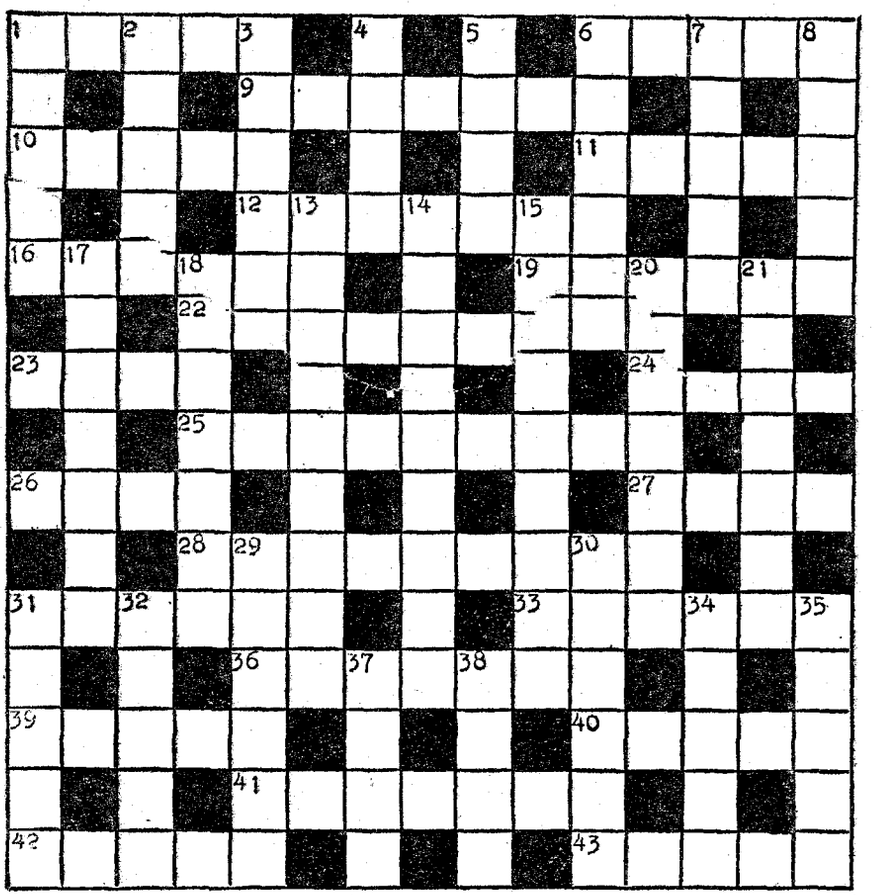
Crossword Puzzle No. 153

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 First appearance, but comes at last
6 Stand that brings comfort to fifty
9 Accosting
10 Easy to make him riled
11 Smooth feature of Royal Doulton pottery
12 So-called because it had but one horn
16 Agrees it makes for smooth running
19 Celt of the rudest type
22 "Who goes there?"
23 Pale excuse
24 Ireland still shows anger
25 What a person of fuddled speech is trying to find in the pantry?
26 One who ain't for it
27 Is "wrought by want of thought, as well as want of heart"
28 "Twilight's curtain spreading far" was pinned with one (three words, 1, 4, 4)
31 Part of Asia where they might rob one
33 Junior naval officer
36 It's a Tom (anag.)
39 Ear-piercing? These are the sensitive spots
40 Only part of the body they clothe in parts of the East
41 Interesting incident
42 Tillers unconnected with the land
43 Animal you'll want to alter

DOWN

1 "Something attempted, nothing -----"
2 "Benjy met a Bear, the Bear was Bulgy; Benjy's disappeared; the ----- was Benjy"
3 What we call a "robin" is really this
4 Otherwise "La Boheme"
5 I'd do for her
6 Not quite the same as a "prairie oyster"
7 I lead an African cavalryman in retreat
8 An old physician
13 Not fuel oil (hyphen, 5-4)
14 Is it on its way to becoming an ice? (two words, 4 & 5)
15 Not averse (anag.)
17 O, Arnold! how you've changed!
18 Native to Nova Scotia
20 They look at one askance
21 Wheeling
29 An ass partly enters the shelter
30 One of the stag's good points
31 Olivia's uncle—a jolly, care-free fellow (*Twelfth Night*)
32 Be in a dance that is revolutionary
34 He is not sensibly affected by his surroundings
35 The banjoist's twang rather than the banjo's
37 State of the Buckeyes
38 What the old oaken bucket was bound with

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 152

ACROSS:—1 PELICAN; 5 POLE-AXE; 9 CHAIR; 10 NEIGHBORS; 11 DRESS SUIT; 12 NEEDY; 13 RE-ENACT; 15 STRIPED; 17 INDITED; 19 FANATIC; 21 PACER; 23 LAMPEDUSA; 25 STAVANGER; 26 ACHES; 27 EMENDED; 28 LEOPOLD.

DOWN:—1 PICADOR; 2 LEASE-LEND; 3 CORPS; 4 NONSUIT; 5 PLINTHS; 6 LOHENGRIN; 7 AFORE; 8 ESSAYED; 14 AFTERWARD; 16 PETRUCHIO; 17 IMPASSE; 18 DELUGED; 19 FEMORAL; 20 CLASSED; 22 CHASE; 24 ERATO.

ment for expressions of art as experience—in the dance, in song, and drama. Permit me to quote from J. B. Priestley in summation of the culture values nurtured by co-ops. "This is a whole world of education, inspiration, of laughter and loveliness and deep emotion, of social criticism and spiritual release into which most people have had nothing but a few glimpses. Here is a great task, and I know no other organization better able to attempt it than the cooperative societies."

ETHEL M. DUNCAN

Philadelphia, Pa., February 28

Anti-Jim Crow

Dear Sirs: The sides are shaping up in Columbia, South Carolina, for the battle for the leadership of post-war Dixie. On the credit side there is the Progressive Democratic Party, a new, interracial third party. On the debit side there is the streamlined Youth for Christ movement, which seems to be attempting to sow the seeds of fascist bigotry behind a smoke screen of religious revivalism. Now a new sign of the birth of native, progressive leadership has come in the shape of the Columbia Anti-Jim Crow Committee.

The first move of the Anti-Jim Crow Committee has been to proclaim a national Sunday of protest against Jim Crow discrimination and segregation in transportation. In support of its program it demands that men of good-will everywhere stay off the Jim Crow trains, buses, and street cars the first Sunday of every month. Among the lines which practice Jim Crowism and which extend into the North are the following: the Greyhound Bus Lines, the Southern Railroad, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Queen City Coach Company, and the Seaboard Airline Railway. This protest is not an attack upon those lines except as they are the instruments of the old policy of divide and exploit.

This movement is peaceable, but a challenge. It states its purposes in terms of true religion: "A new South is evolving before our eyes. In order for Negroes to help develop this new era in our Southland and take their rightful position therein, they must evaluate the strength that is in *unity*—unity not among their own ranks alone, but among the ranks of all those people of every race and creed who realize and wish to practice the true message of the Nazarene—human brotherhood."

PAUL B. NEWMAN

Columbia, S. C., February 21

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